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# New Ways to Assess the Performance of School Principals, Part I

Issue Editors:  
Naftaly S. Glasman  
Ronald H. Heck



# Seabody Journal of Education

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inside front cover

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# PEABODY

# JOURNAL

# OF EDUCATION

Volume 68, Number 1, Fall 1992

## New Ways to Assess the Performance of School Principals, Part I

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# Preface

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*Joseph Murphy*

In this issue, Heck and Marcoulides characterize the field of principal evaluation as "fuzzy," a conclusion which those familiar with the work in this area would be hard pressed to refute. Yet, our understanding of this domain is considerably more advanced than it was only two decades ago. Much of the credit for this enhanced clarity can be traced to the work of a small cadre of scholars who have implemented systematic research strategies to investigate the assessment of school administrators. At the forefront of these endeavors has been the work of Naftaly S. Glasman from the University of California at Santa Barbara. In organizing and editing these two issues of the *Peabody Journal of Education*, with Dr. Heck, his former student, Dr. Glasman has made another significant advance in extending the knowledge base in this area. Professor Glasman has done a remarkable job of collecting and bringing coherence to the perspectives of a distinguished group of scholars, a collection that represents nearly the full set of actors laboring at the intersection of these two domains, that is, the principalship and evaluation.

These issues represent a particularly timely contribution to the conceptual and empirical literature in the area of principal evaluation for two reasons. First, interest in administrator accountability is growing rapidly, as are evaluation programs themselves. For example, Snyder and Ebmeier (this issue) report that between 1974 and 1984 state-mandated evaluation systems for principals increased from 9 to 27, while "the number of school systems reporting that formal evaluation procedures existed within their districts increased from 39.5% in 1968 to 85.9% in 1984." If anything, the accountability focus of the standards raising movement of the 1980s (Murphy, 1990) and the restructuring movement of the 1990s (Murphy, 1991) have accelerated this interest. However, while the

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amount of effort devoted to principal evaluation "has dramatically increased over the last several years, the quality of the assessments has not substantially improved" (Heck & Marcoulides, this issue). The time is clearly right to bring the knowledge base needed to improve principal evaluation in line with this mushrooming interest in administrator accountability. The articles in these two issues address this need directly.

Second, traditional notions of personnel evaluation and ingrained conceptions of the principalship are undergoing thoughtful reassessments (Beck & Murphy, *in press*; Goldring & Rallis, *in press*). In particular, hierarchically-grounded views of evaluation are being subjected to serious attacks. The role of the principal is also being transformed in fundamental ways. It is argued by some analysts that many of the duties currently performed by principals will fall to others in tomorrow's schools. Concomitantly, new responsibilities will accrue to the principalship role. These changes imply that the time is ripe for informed analyses that consolidate the gains of the past; faithfully portray the existing landscape, blemishes and all; and chart new directions for the field as it sorts through current ambiguities. These articles address that agenda perspicuously. In sum, they provide the guidance needed to help improve the burgeoning administrator assessment industry and to inform the re-examination of "the role of the principal and the objectives, methods, and uses of evaluation in determining principal effectiveness" (Glasman & Heck, this issue).

While there are more benefits to the field in these articles than can be adequately addressed in these few introductory pages, only selected contributions will be highlighted here: conceptual and theoretical extensions of the domain, practical insights to improve evaluation systems, enriched understandings of grounded views of assessment, and enhanced perspectives on the role of principal assessment in restructuring schools. To begin with, we know that "principal evaluation remains an underdeveloped aspect of education research and development" (Hart, this issue), or as Ginsberg and Thompson capture it: "The state of research on principal evaluation emphasizes the lack of empirically supported information about best practices. This knowledge base [is] described in one source as being in the stone age of development" (this issue).

Because Glasman sought out scholars who were able to ground their articles "on a carefully delineated theory" or a "theoretically-founded conceptual framework" (Glasman & Heck, this issue), these issues make a fundamental contribution to addressing this weakness. In short, by providing conceptual anchoring to a field adrift in a sea of untested practice, these authors considerably enrich the knowledge base in the

area of principal evaluation. Concomitantly, they offer important empirical insights into administrator assessment, perspectives made more robust by their theoretical underpinnings. The "theoretically-driven empirical research" in these articles helps develop the foundation to "establish and validate appropriate domains of the principal's role and their collective effects on the school's achievement" (Heck & Marcoulides, this issue). Again, the knowledge base is enriched.

Because "a guiding theoretical model or framework is . . . paramount to understanding and developing criteria around which principal evaluation instruments can be constructed" (Snyder & Ebmeier, this issue), these articles also offer some practical wisdom about developing and using more appropriate evaluation procedures. On the one hand, the authors provide frequent cautions about the task of principal evaluation, lest we become sidetracked along some not-too-promising avenues of exploration. Particularly salient are the regular reminders about the importance of grounding evaluation in the concrete realities of schooling. They also offer us instruments and procedures that make the practice of principal evaluation "somewhat more accessible" (Heck & Marcoulides, this issue).

A third major contribution of these articles is that they help establish a grounded view of assessment. At the broadest level, these pieces move us away from "evaluation decoupled from context" and toward "context-embedded evaluation" (Hart, this issue). In so doing, they underscore the complexity of an activity that is often reduced to "simple characterizations or descriptions" (Ginsberg & Thompson, this issue). As a general principle, Duke and Iwanicki (this issue) reveal that effective "administration is more than a matter of behavioral competence, it is also a matter of fit—the extent to which the leader is perceived to be appropriately matched to a given context." They, as well as other analysts in these issues, help explicate the specific contextual conditions which add to the complexity of principal evaluation. Two which receive considerable attention are the values which different stakeholders employ in the assessment process—values which vary not only across groups but across time within groups—and the conceptions of leadership that are prevalent at any given time. In emphasizing the contextual nature of assessment, these authors reinforce a central tenet of principal evaluation, that is, "there is really no universal paradigm or theory for examining leader behavior that is valid in all contexts (Heck & Marcoulides, this issue).

Finally, the authors of these articles provide important clues about the evaluation of leaders in restructuring schools, thus providing a glimpse into the future of principal assessment. They begin by portraying the

"changing definition of the principal's role itself" (Glasman & Heck, this issue), anchoring it carefully in the forces shaping that redefinition. They then offer cogent insights about how to reorient assessment to the changing nature of schooling and administration.

Those of us with an interest in the principalship will find ourselves enriched from our reading of these articles. We owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Glasman for his efforts in pulling this collection together.

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# The Changing Leadership Role of the Principal: Implications for Principal Assessment

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*Naftaly S. Glasman*

*Ronald H. Heck*

The systematic study of principal assessment has been slow to develop. For a long time, the practice of principal assessment had not required a high degree of systematization, and the study of this practice had not been guided by firmly established theoretical considerations. In chapters on personnel evaluation which appear in books on personnel administration (e.g., Castetter, 1976; Fawcett, 1979; Seyfarth, 1991; Webb, Greer, Montello, & Norton, 1987), the mention of principal assessment is minimal.

Unlike the study of teacher assessment, the study of principal assessment has not benefited significantly from research on learning and teaching. The principal does not interact directly with students, and the principal's role is unprotected from contextually-driven fluctuations in authority and expectations. During the 1970s and 1980s, however, the intensification of research on school effectiveness as a major goal of American education advanced the use of achievement data to evaluate the school's instructional efforts. A driving force behind political efforts to improve public education through increased accountability, "effective schools" research implied that improved student outcomes could be attained through strategic school organization and strong principal leadership (e.g., Andrews & Soder, 1987; Edmonds, 1980; Hallinger & Murphy, 1987). A recent extension of external demands for improved quality

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of educational outcomes are policy decisions aimed at holding district administrators and principals accountable for schools' academic performance (Heck, 1992).

The restructuring of educational governance is shifting the locus of responsibility in decision making from professionally dominated centralized hierarchies to various forms of local site councils emphasizing community input and, in some cases, control in a variety of policy-making areas including programs and personnel (Clune & White, 1988; Davide, Cohen, Henetschlager, & Traiman, 1990; Elmore, 1990; Policy Research in Education, 1990). This change in political ideology surrounding personnel accountability (e.g., the hiring and firing of principals) and decision-making responsibility raises a variety of issues that underscore the need to re-examine the role of the principal and the objectives, methods, and uses of evaluation in determining principal effectiveness. For example, a decision by a federal court jury recently held members of a Chicago school site council personally liable for dismissing a principal on what the jury found was "reverse discrimination." A key part of the decision was the lack of a formal, written evaluation of the principal's performance ("Panelists Found Liable," 1992).

The role of personnel evaluation in education, therefore, has become central to efforts aimed at promoting academic improvement and long-term school effectiveness. Recently, some theoretical guidelines for the study of principal assessment were provided within the area of personnel evaluation. The Joint Committee (1988) developed standards for evaluating educational personnel which can be utilized in developing a practical system to assess principal performance. While founded in a consensus achieved among educational associations rather than in behavioral and social science principles, it is a useful framework for the study of principal assessment.

The leadership role of the school principal has changed dramatically in the past 20 years. One major by-product of these changes has been the intensification of demands to improve principal assessment methods and instruments for increased school effectiveness. We strongly believe that in order to meet this challenge there is a need to capitalize on the best theory and research which educational administration and educational evaluation have to offer in this area (e.g., Daresh & Playko, 1992; Duhamel, Cyze, Lamacraft, & Rutherford, 1981; Ginsberg, 1989; Glasman, 1979). The dual administrative-evaluative perspective which emerges should be able, in our opinion, to guide the further study of principal assessment as the principal leadership role continues to change. The perspective involves choices of purposes for gathering information and for rendering judgment about the worth of the informa-

tion; where the information pertains to the performance of the principal in a role that takes place within changing structures and contexts and that is expected to enhance the attainment of student achievement levels, it is considered a central indicator of school effectiveness.

In this introductory article to a two-part issue, we chose to review selected literature which pertains to central issues associated with the administrative-evaluative perspective. This overview of the literature will, we believe, serve as a useful reference point for the remainder of the articles in this special issue. We focus on the following four topics: (a) linking principals to school effectiveness as a desired outcome, (b) increasing awareness about school contextual indicators that may affect leadership and effectiveness, (c) discussing the effects of structural reform on the role of principals, and (d) assessing the performance of principals for increased school effectiveness. Following this review of the literature, we will provide highlights of the rest of the issue.

### **Linking Principals to School Effectiveness**

Research on school effectiveness in the 1970s and early 1980s identified factors within the school that can make a difference in student learning (Brookover, Schweitzer, Schneider, Flood, & Wisenbaker, 1978; Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan, & Lee, 1982; Edmonds, 1979). Researchers paid particular attention to the leadership role of the school principal, noting that he or she plays a key role within the organizational structure in establishing and maintaining school effectiveness (Bossert et al., 1982; De Bevoise, 1984; Glasman, 1984; Hallinger & Murphy, 1986; Heck, Larsen, & Marcouides, 1990). Consistently, early school effectiveness studies found indicators of principal leadership to be correlated with school outcomes (e.g., Andrews & Soder, 1987; Brookover et al., 1978; Edmonds, 1980).

The early studies, which focused primarily on the effects of a variety of school variables on student learning, produced several important findings with respect to how school principals might play an influential role in promoting school effectiveness. An early review of the empirical research (Percell & Cookson, 1982) suggested that effective principals demonstrate commitment to academic goals, create a climate of high expectations for student progress, allocate important resources, are forceful and dynamic, and create a stable learning environment with a clear discipline code. Brookover and Lezotte (1977) indicated that principals in high-achieving schools emphasize instruction as an important goal. Describing how principals spent their time, Krajewski (1978) noted that principals placed high value on the instructional leadership activities previously described, and lower value on day-to-day management

functions of the role (e.g., working with community, student discipline), yet these latter functions took up the majority of their in-school time.

Rutherford (1985) corroborated these preliminary findings and argued that effective principals continuously monitor the progress of student and teacher work and intervene in a supportive or corrective manner when necessary. In a later review of the research, Bossert (1988) argued that a significant portion of between- and within-school effects on student achievement result from how valuable resources are allocated to classroom instruction, a key function of the principal's role. As the person in charge of managing the school, the principal was viewed as responsible for communicating vision and goals, building school climate and culture, and organizing the school for instruction to take place.

There have been methodological problems, as well as conceptual problems, however, that have hindered the clarification of the linkage between what school principals do and valued school outcomes. The first studies on school effects most often examined correlates of principal attitudes or behavior and student achievement. Such univariate analyses, however, were difficult to interpret because they fail to consider intercorrelations among predictor variables (Tatsuoka & Silver, 1988). In addition, early research often focused primarily on traits of principals, which were found to be generally unrelated to differences in school performance (e.g., Sally, McPherson, & Baehr, 1979). Yet, this type of study seems to persist in the professional literature (Heck, 1991).

Most early research attempting to link aspects of the principal's role to school effectiveness typically centered on a narrow sample of schools—urban elementary schools in large districts (Hallinger & Murphy, 1987; Rowan, Bossert, & Dwyer, 1983). This limitation in the type of schools investigated generally precluded the systematic study of the influence of a wide spectrum of organizational conditions on principal leadership and other school processes. Furthermore, studies often used the outlier strategy which compared the best schools with the worst. Observed effects in this type of analysis are likely to be the largest, as opposed to effects observed in more "average" types of school conditions.

A related problem in linking principals to school effectiveness has been the changing definition of the principal's role itself. Early American schools had "principal teachers" who were elected, but the role then evolved toward greater attention to "scientific management." Over the past decade or so, the role has evolved from manager to street-level bureaucrat, instructional manager, instructional leader, and transformational leader, as well as several other images that describe changes in perceptions about the role. The changing role conceptualizations may result from increasing external demands for educational accountability

and reflect the reform of a system moving from closed (emphasizing management and centralized control) to open (emphasizing leadership and decentralized participation).

During the early 1990s, the system still appears to be in considerable turbulence concerned with transforming (or restructuring) itself, which corresponds to the emerging view of principals as transformational leaders (Leithwood, 1992). The evolving view of the principal as leader perhaps reflects a greater recognition of the principal as a key actor in promoting school effectiveness and, correspondingly, of the school as the appropriate level at which significant educational improvement may take place (Blank, 1987; Deal, 1987). This view of the principal places a new set of expectations for role performance.

### **School Context, Principal Leadership, and School Effectiveness**

Although early effective schools research established that aspects of principal leadership influence student outcomes at least indirectly, this relationship is more complex than originally thought. What is less clear is the specific manner in which principals as school leaders may contribute to the specific linkages between school context, school variables, and school achievement outcomes. Measures of school demographic composition, organization, school variables such as climate or culture, and achievement are all correlated (Rowan et al., 1983), so it has been difficult to unravel and isolate the effects of any particular set from the others. Part of the problem in clarifying these relationships has also resulted from the lack of solid theoretical work that links principals and these other sets of variables together. As Murphy (1988) concluded, echoing Bridges' (1982) assessment of research on administrators, previous researchers provided limited strategies for studying principals.

Despite some encouraging findings about the centrality of the principal's role in promoting school effectiveness from early studies on school effects, Wimpelberg, Teddlie, and Stringfield (1989) noted that future research should attend not only to general characteristics of behavior or attitudes of school administrators, but also to specific role responsibilities and the effects of varying contextual situations. That the context of schooling shapes students' classroom learning experiences (Barr & Dreeben, 1983; Dreeben & Barr, 1988; Oakes, 1989)—including the allocation of resources to those classrooms (Bossert, 1988)—is well established. Teddlie, Kirby, and Stringfield (1989), for example, identified differences in classroom teaching practices in effective versus ineffective schools. These classroom differences appear to be related, at least in part, to principal behavior.

Consequently, how the individual principal behaves may depend on his or her own values and beliefs as well as organizational and political variables associated with the school and community context (e.g., district size, level of schooling, students' socioeconomic status, pressures from district and community, access to knowledge, staff characteristics). Attention to context, however, has created new methodological issues that need to be addressed, for example, in doing multilevel research on schools (e.g., Sirotnik & Burstein, 1985; Rowan, Raudenbush, & King, 1991). Because contextual factors may sometimes constrain and shape the principal's exercise of leadership and resulting effects on teachers and students (Firestone & Herriott, 1982; Hallinger & Murphy, 1987; Heck & Marcoulides, 1989), the empirical validation of causal relationships among a complex set of variables comprising the cultural milieu of the school has remained elusive.

Because of the complexity of relationships between context and school that may moderate principal orientations and behavior, it is important to measure (or control) important contextual indicators when attempting to clarify the relationship between school processes such as principal leadership and school outcomes. Failure to provide adequate controls or specification of these relationships may yield results that are in actuality spurious (Dwyer, Lee, Rowan, & Bossert, 1983). Consequently, the use of multivariate models is a necessary activity in building or testing theory about how school context and principal leadership may influence school effectiveness, yet this type of data analysis has been limited (Heck et al., 1990; Willower, 1987). As Witte and Walsh (1990) argue, however, given the complex nature of educational systems and difficulties in researching them, any results will necessarily be limited in helping to resolve major issues surrounding the effective schools debate.

In past studies of school effects including principal leadership, school context has been conceptualized typically in one of two ways. The earliest cautionary notes on effective schools research (e.g., Rowan et al., 1983) noted that conclusions drawn about inner city elementary schools were not the same as those for secondary or higher socioeconomic schools. Context, therefore, was first conceptualized as a set of undefined variables that as a whole were found to impact on school achievement. As Wimpelberg et al. (1989) indicate, researchers have since managed to isolate a variety of organizational structure variables that appear to affect schools differentially, including level, socioeconomic backgrounds of students, subject matter focus, and attitudes toward the change process. Andrews and Hallett (1983) noted similarities in principals' allocations of time to leadership functions despite

school level, yet other contextual differences resulting from school size and other organizational features of the district (Smith & Andrews, 1989).

More recently, researchers have begun to view context as consisting of more than just a set of demographic variables. Rather, it has been perceived as a "culture" that surrounds the school. Terms like "access to knowledge," "achievement context of the school," and "staff attitudes toward education" are thought to affect the way the school pursues teaching and learning (e.g., Farrar, Neufeld, & Miles, 1984; Oakes, 1989). From this perspective, context may be viewed as influencing the value orientations, thinking processes, and day-to-day behavior of principals, who, in turn, influence other processes. One example of this latter relationship might be teacher expectations about students' ability to learn (e.g., Austin, 1979; Edmonds, 1980; Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Outson, & Smith, 1979).

As a whole, despite variation in the conceptualization and findings of research on school context and its moderating effects on school processes, the research suggests the relationship between principal attitudes and leadership behavior and school effectiveness is not coincidental (Andrews & Soder, 1987; Blank, 1987; Glasman, 1984; Hallinger & Murphy, 1986; Heck et al., 1990; Rutherford, 1985). As a variety of theoretical models about the principal's role hypothesize (e.g., Bossert et al., 1982; Boyan, 1988; Heck et al., 1990; Pitner, 1988), however, the principal's leadership behavior does not appear to affect the academic achievement of students directly. Rather, the relationship has been viewed as indirect—focusing on such activities as decision making, developing vision and school purpose, setting goals, communicating expectations for performance, "gatekeeping" with parents and other community interests, and monitoring the work activities at the school site which have trickle-down effects through classrooms that nurture student performance.

An emerging line of research is also beginning to look at cognitive processes of principals that may have implications for school performance. For example, Leithwood and Stager (1989) identified differences in problem-solving practices between effective and more typical principals. Glasman (1992) noted differences in decision-making practices of principals in academically improving versus declining schools with respect to how they identify and mobilize efforts to solve instructional problems. Studied from a variety of different perspectives which emphasize various aspects of the principal's role, differences in principals' attitudes, observed behaviors, and cognitive orientations have been found to be related to the achievement patterns of schools.

### Effects of Structural Reforms on the Principal's Role

Even without direct regard to the effectiveness of the school, as restructuring and decentralization unfold changes are incorporated into the way pedagogical, managerial, and governance dimensions are assessed (e.g., Brown, 1991; Hill & Bonan, 1991). With the empirical establishment of a relationship between the principal and school effectiveness, the status of the role has ascended, as have expectations about performing the role. In addition, research has begun to appear on the effectiveness of restructured schools in producing higher student outcomes. For example, Talbert (1985) noted that particular types of organizational governance may be related to outcomes. Good and Brophy (1986) found that where individual schools had the discretion to hire personnel and control budget, the potential for school effects on achievement were greater. Louis and Miles (1991) identified a team approach as critical in urban higher schools that had undergone extensive reform and academic improvement.

Such research challenged that concept prevalent in earlier effective schools research that desirable schools should be closely monitored and employ top-down control mechanisms. In contrast to this view of control, collaboration and team leadership appear to be important in some effective schools (Leithwood, 1992; Wimpelberg et al., 1989). The model is consistent with recent attempts to decentralize and thereby increase participation in the management of American businesses during the 1980s as a means for promoting high productivity (e.g., Peters & Waterman, 1982).

The "effective schools" model has also become a blueprint for change in some schools and districts. For example, Wong and Rollow (1990) note that the Chicago school reform was an attempt to continue the legacy of the "efficiency" movement in education begun at the turn of the century by creating "effective" schools managed by strong managerial and instructional leaders accountable to the public. Louis and Miles (1991) report on research concerning urban high schools that successfully implemented significant reforms over a 4-5 year period based on strategies drawn specifically from the research on effective schools.

While the "first wave" of reforms in the early 1980s focused on increasing centralized controls over curriculum and instruction to improve school outcomes, the "second wave" has been concerned with ways to redistribute power as a means of increasing educational accountability (Murphy, 1989). School-based management is one of several reform efforts implemented in the past decade directed toward altering school organization, creating greater accountability, and enhancing oppor-

tunities for school-based leadership. Several goals appear to drive this change in ideology, including the perception that it will lead to greater educational efficiency, will empower key stakeholders, and will shift responsibility for poor outcomes away from the central office to the local site.

There is wide variation in the types of site-based management programs currently being implemented, as well as the amount of power allocated to various roles in the attempt to redistribute power away from the district level. The relationship between these programs and school achievement is problematic, because very little research has been completed on the topic (Malen, Ogawa, & Kranz, 1990). Part of the problem in isolating possible effects of site-based management programs concerns eliminating possible rival hypotheses that could account for gains in student achievement. Another problem is the absence of a standard definition of site-based management (Peterson, 1991).

Beyond its possible relationship to school performance, site-based management needs to be further studied in a variety of school settings to understand how this particular type of reform may be affecting principals' authority and power. Ogawa and Malen (1991) suggest that site-based management has significant political-institutional properties, in that it may operate primarily as a political response to turbulence and as an institutional response to the eroding confidence in administrators. If decentralized decision making rests on principals of delegation, or even on collaboration, it can increase rather than decrease the impact and influence of top school administrators and elected school boards because of the limited scope that most programs actually have with respect to important issues.

Current examples of site-based reform appear to indicate a change in the principal's role in such schools. One example of site-based reform currently being heavily researched has been implemented in the Chicago school system. This reform represents perhaps the most far-reaching redistribution of power to date from professionals to lay control. Previous research on principals in Chicago during the early 1980s (Crowson & Porter-Gehrie, 1980) identified the use of creative insubordination by principals to deal with hierarchical demands of the district level administration. The Chicago reform was an attempt to eliminate the long list of district level sanctions and oversight that required principals to be insubordinate in order to be creative (Hess, 1991). The reform shifted accountability to the local level, which would be dominated by parents on the local school councils. Under the present mandate, therefore, principals are granted greater authority for running the school, but their continuance as school leaders is related to their ability to establish

consensus about the school's educational program and foster high expectations for achievement of school goals.

As a result of the specific governance restructuring in Chicago, the principal's role is no longer conceived as middle manager who passes along demands of the district office. The relationship between district and principal has changed and, consequently, expectations for performance have increased. Previously, principals had lifetime tenure. As a result of the reform legislation, which was upheld in the courts against challenges by the principals' union, principals are primarily accountable to the local school council, whose support they must maintain to have their contracts renewed. Under the reform, the major new dimension of the role is as chief executive officer with a managing board (Hess, 1991). Principals in Chicago are now charged to develop school improvement plans as a result of determining what school needs are with the council, teachers, and parents at the school. With the new reform law principals also have greater responsibility for hiring and evaluation of staff, which is unusual for large urban systems. Additionally, another change has been to give principals greater responsibility for on-site budgeting.

### Assessing the Performance of Principals: Increasing Effectiveness?

The change in conceptualization of the principal's role resulting from the reform demands of the 1980s and the established link between principals and school performance have heightened demands calling for the evaluation of principal effectiveness. In the 1970s, political perceptions shifted from ensuring equity to the decline in quality of educational outputs. The political system responded with developing educational accountability policies, that is, examining what schools were doing to reverse the decline in student achievement scores (Glasman & Nevo, 1988). Both the federal government and later also state governments faced evaluation as an allocated political value. In such cases, the bureaucracy has two choices: to become committed to evaluation and risk destabilization of the system, because evaluation implies change (e.g., Wildavsky, 1972); or to preserve stability and delegate the commitment to evaluation to other more vulnerable organizations with whom it interacts (Glasman & Nevo, 1988). In essence, the second path was followed, as governmental agencies argued that local school districts have the responsibility for accountability. They allocated evaluation-connected funds to the districts, and controlled relatively effectively what districts did with those funds (e.g., Tsang & Levin, 1983). This external demand for accountability has led to the development of evaluation as an administrative function (Glasman, 1979).

Despite these efforts, during the 1980s evaluation with respect to educational policy occurred mainly at the state level, less at the local district level, and still less at the school level (Glasman & Glasman, 1988). Over the past few years, however, changes in public and policymaker perceptions surrounding the use of evaluation for purposes of educational accountability with respect to implementing the reform agenda have helped shape new attitudes about the role of site-based evaluation in promoting school effectiveness. Some of these demands have mandated a greater role for principals in the use of scientific data to implement governmental policies. For example, evaluation requirements have been instituted at the school level with respect to teacher performance and in utilizing student achievement-based instructional goals with teachers (Glasman & Nevo, 1988).

Such changes with respect to the evaluation of teachers, however, have not for the most part followed with school principals. As Glasman and Glasman (1988) note, the authority to evaluate is linked to the authority to initiate change. As we move into the 1990s, the aftermath of the reform that has given citizens greater voice in educational policymaking implies a greater role for parents with respect to hiring and firing principals (e.g., Hess, 1991), one function of personnel evaluation. One recent result of the increasing awareness of evaluation as a tool to promote educational accountability has been the attempt to systematize efforts in the area of principal evaluation. Yet, to date few empirical studies on the systematic evaluation of principals exist.

Changes in perceptions about the role of evaluation in ensuring educational accountability open up a variety of issues about principal accountability. The development of useful systems of assessment is an important need in promoting educational accountability. Ensuring that such assessments are based on empirical research about the principal's role and use psychometrically sound data when issues of accountability and job security are involved becomes critical. In the balance of this section, we outline some specific concerns with respect to assessing principals: determining the purposes and objects of evaluation, measuring principal performance and deciding what information to collect, and finally, utilizing evaluation data about principal effectiveness.

The first concern is the identification of the purposes of principal evaluation. As suggested earlier, it was necessary to link principal decision making as well as behavior to improved school performance before the issue of accountability and evaluation of performance could be raised. Once such a relationship has been delineated, then it is possible to evaluate not only the processes of principal leadership, but the products as well (Pitner & Hocevar, 1987). Possible purposes of assessment could include improvement, tenure, accountability, and merit salary

increases. In general terms, we might define evaluation purposes as more summative (e.g., tenure, accountability) or formative (e.g., improvement of performance) in nature.

The consideration of possible parameters, as well as potential constraints, related to evaluation purposes is also necessary in establishing meaningful principal assessment. To illustrate the necessity of these considerations in evaluating a principal, we might consider the assessment of performance for the purpose of outcome-based accountability. Because of the problems associated with the impact of the school's context on principal behavior, it may be difficult initially to delimit the exact type and parameters of evaluation that should be utilized to monitor principal performance for this specific purpose.

The implications of some research studies, for example, suggest that the achievement context of the school may shape the actions of principals (Hallinger & Murphy, 1986) and, more specifically, the actions of new principals (Heck, 1992). In addition, Rowan and Denk (1984) found that principal succession produced primarily short-term achievement gains, which were moderated by community socioeconomic status. Mayor and Heck (1992) noted that over 50% of the variance in between-school reading and mathematics achievement scores was due to school contextual indicators.

If confirmed in future research, findings from studies such as these provide challenges for assessing the outcome-based performance of principals. The problems of low-achieving schools may extend beyond merely changing principals, and it may be too much to assume that one person can reshape these schools in a lasting manner (e.g., Louis & Miles, 1991; Pitner & Hocevar, 1987). The research base on principal leadership does not yet support the view that such leaders can actually transform poorly achieving schools. Thus, outcome-based principal evaluation must necessarily be approached with great caution and a thorough understanding of the school's setting, culture, and goals.

This is an important point to note, because several other purposes for assessing principal performance could also be potentially beneficial for assessment. For example, Ebmeier (1991) suggests an evaluative model of principal performance consisting of four role domains: maintenance (monitoring the value structure of the school), adaptation (understanding and accommodating external demands), goal attainment (achieving outcome goals), and integration (organizing and coordinating the various school tasks necessary for teaching and learning). Outcome-based assessment would only be expected to address some of these outlined role responsibilities. Other evaluation purposes less visible to policy-makers may also be identified (i.e., role-based assessment, standards-

based assessment, structure-based assessment) which could emphasize the principal's ability to perform within these various evaluation domains. Each purpose entails a set of problems that has not yet been addressed fully.

Although the topic of principal effectiveness has received considerable attention in the literature during the past decade, there are still many shortcomings in the field. Glasman and Martens (in part two of this issue), for example, address how several purposes of evaluation are implemented in principal evaluation systems in selected school districts. It becomes readily apparent that establishing purposes of evaluation leads back to value positions policymakers have about those purposes. These value positions must be acknowledged in the process of developing purposes, as well as in deciding what aspects of the role to observe, measuring the performance, and utilizing the data collected about the performance.

Because choices must be made about what to observe, it is necessary to link these objects to evaluation purposes and theory about what are important aspects of the principal's role. Previous research has indicated that the objects of evaluation could be the principal's cognitive strategies (e.g., ability to solve instructional problems or make appropriate decisions), on-the-job behavior including interactions, result-producing activities, or engagement in a process. One must then consider the process of collecting the data and judging the worth of the data collected with respect to the identified evaluation purposes. A major problem in collecting the data about principal effectiveness concerns how to measure principal behavior, values, or cognitive orientations (i.e., the objects of measurement). There is the issue of the inadequacy of unidimensional or bidimensional measures of effectiveness to capture the variety of activities that are part of the everyday life of the principal. Quantifying leadership effectiveness, therefore, is an important conceptual and methodological problem that will need to be addressed.

More theoretical and empirical work is also required to develop and improve instruments that can be used to measure principal leadership effectiveness. This need concerns how to operationalize important constructs thought to represent the object that one wishes to measure. Furthermore, there is the problem of reliability between principal self-reports and reports of others, as well as a lack of agreement between teachers in the same school. Perhaps even more importantly, considerable empirical research is still needed to determine the dimensions of principal leadership about which teachers, as well as others, can be expected to provide valid information. The issue of situational determinants of leader effects and effectiveness also is problematic. In addition

to problems concerning what constitutes leadership effectiveness from a theoretical standpoint, as Rowan and Denk (1984) note, there is a lack of instruments with demonstrated reliability and validity to measure leadership effectiveness. Heck and Marcoulides (this issue) address some of the problems in conceptualizing and measuring principal desired objects of evaluation in greater detail.

Beyond the issues of what information to collect and how to operationalize it so that it can be measured, a final concern related to principal assessment is the potential utilization of such information by decision makers. Purposes might include improving role performance (e.g., using formative, process-oriented evaluation), assessing effectiveness to determine whether or not to retain or tenure the principal (e.g., using summative, product-oriented evaluation), and assessing the whole evaluation process itself (e.g., in relation to goals and standards) as policymakers or stakeholders do (Patton, 1982). Stakeholders should be concerned with shaping the evaluation process, so that it is meaningful. This increases the likelihood that the information will be utilized. With respect to the first utilization purpose, for example, efforts to develop or remediate the role-related leadership skills of principals need to involve the consideration of specific areas in which the principal has the responsibility and control to exert leadership. It is also possible to use the data to assess where the school is in relation to desired goals, as well as to examine how district policies and support can help enhance the leadership role of the principal.

One must also be concerned with the quality of the data that can be collected and their relevance and applicability. The quality of the evaluation process will determine whether the results are utilized and how they are utilized. The utility of the information can bear directly on decisions affecting principals (i.e., to improve, reassign, or retain), as well as on the assessment process itself. In the latter case, collecting information about principal effectiveness can become a means for the district to learn about its missions, values, and performance.

### New Ways of Assessing Principals' Performance

In the first three sections of this article some evidence has been reviewed in relationship to three foci corresponding to the assessment of the performance of principals for increased school effectiveness. The first focus was the linkage between principal leadership attributes and levels of school student performance. Research seems to indicate that behaviors, decisions, and attitudes of school principals are associated with school effectiveness as measured by student achievement, but that

the linkage is indirect. The second focus was the impact of contextual variables on principal leadership attributes and on school effectiveness. Despite some inherent limitations, research here seems to point to the existence of the linkage between principal leadership attributes and school effectiveness despite the clear influence of the school context on both. The third focus dealt with relations between structural reforms (e.g., school restructuring, school-site management, school autonomy) and the leadership role of the principal. Research here suggests that such reforms brought about significant changes in the role of the principal.

The fourth section of this article examined political and evaluative implications of the combination of the findings on principal assessment. As the local unit becomes the locus of responses to demands for educational accountability, the school principal becomes the focal point in efforts to improve school effectiveness. Upgrading the principal's leadership performance and improving the quality of the assessment of this performance become two cornerstones of enhancing school effectiveness.

No longer can the following alone do: upgrading the curriculum, increasing standards and expectations, improving instruction, and changing governance and organization. And no longer will the following suffice: justifying inappropriate appointments to principal positions, calling social get-togethers "principal development activities," reassigning a principal to avoid documenting poor performance, evaluating diagnostically without follow-up, and avoiding merit awards for outstanding performance.

This special two-part issue is devoted to new ways of assessing principals' performance, ways which might be applicable, alone or in combinations, to the new realities of principal assessment practices. A major condition for being included in this issue was that each proposed new way be based, if not on a carefully delineated theory, at least on a theoretically-founded conceptual framework.

The issue has five specific purposes, outlined as follows: (a) It will examine current school and school context conditions and highlight corresponding critical issues associated with principal leadership and its assessment; (b) it will integrate existing literature in the principal assessment field with particular reference to school effectiveness and structure; (c) it will present a selection of recently completed studies that deal with objectives, methods, and uses of principal assessment systems; (d) it will highlight changing societal (in at least three different countries—the United States, Canada, and Australia) and organizational parameters and evaluation technologies and methodologies which together

constitute the context for the needed changes in principal assessment; and (e) it will chart new directions for research and practice in the principal assessment field drawing on recent advances in research in educational administration and educational evaluation.

Given these purposes, the issue will include philosophical positions about principal performance assessment, as well as studies of local practices, and state, federal, and internationally based policies. There will also be specific contributions in the methodological domain of assessing principal performance.

This two-part issue itself consists of six parts. It includes the present article, an introduction dealing with the linkages between school contexts, principals, and school outcomes, the effects of structural reforms on the principal's role, and the centrality of principal assessment in enhancing school effectiveness.

Parts Two, Three, Four, and Five present four corresponding approaches to the assessment of the performance of school principals. Part Two (Duke & Iwanicki; Hart; Ginsburg & Thompson) focuses on *Role-based Assessment*. Duke and Iwanicki focus on the fit of the principal to the school context, Hart on the social influence which the role generates within a unique school context, and Ginsberg and Thompson on the need in assessment to focus on serving clients.

In Part Three the authors (Snyder & Ebmeier; Glasman; Heck & Marcoulides; Rallis & Goldring) choose *Outcome-based Assessment* as their focus. Snyder and Ebmeier concentrate on the relationship between principal behaviors and intermediate outcomes, Glasman on outcome-related actions, Heck and Marcoulides on pertinent conceptualization and measurement problems in developing principal assessment systems, and Rallis and Goldring on school-based, in addition to individual-based, accountability. (The article by Rallis and Goldring may be found, along with the following articles, in part two of this issue.)

Part Four (Stufflebeam & Nevo; Glasman & Martens) introduces the *Standards-based Assessment* approach. In this approach, personnel evaluation standards constitute the assessment guide. Stufflebeam and Nevo introduce the standards and their use in evaluation, and Glasman and Martens present a study of the standards' use in assessing principal performance.

Part Five (Smylie & Crowson; Leithwood, Jantzi, Silins, & Dart; Clayton-Jones et al.) relate assessment of principals directly to school structural changes. Using the *Structure-based Assessment* approach, Crowson and Smylie demonstrate assessment under restructured governance. Leithwood et al. focus on the effects of transformational leadership on school processes and outcomes within restructured schools. In

contrast, Clayton-Jones et al. investigate the perceptions of principals about a new assessment system implemented "top-down."

In Part Six, an attempt is made to integrate contributions in the issue (Heck & Glasman). Contributions are examined in relation to emerging concepts and research needs as well as in regard to applications to the practice of principal assessment.

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# Principal Assessment and the Notion of "Fit"

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In the winter of 1991, a brief announcement in a local Virginia newspaper indicated that an elementary principal had requested to be removed from her duties because of health reasons. She was reassigned to a teaching position in another school.

Insiders acknowledged that the stress of school administration and its impact on the principal's health was only part of the reason for the reassignment. What lay behind the stress was a disjunction between the expectations and desires of a rural community on the one hand, and the beliefs of the principal and her faculty on the other. It seems parents wanted to retain a school honor roll, despite the fact no other elementary school in the school district had one. Learning of the parents' concern, the principal met with her faculty to determine their feelings. The faculty expressed their desire to eliminate the honor roll.

Meanwhile parents requested a meeting with the principal to discuss the issue. They arrived at the appointed time expecting to receive an open hearing. The principal opened the meeting by announcing that the faculty had voted not to continue the honor roll. Parents became upset, sensing that a decision had been made prior to the hearing. From that point, the parents began to make life miserable for the principal, complaining to her supervisors and waging a campaign to discredit her leadership.

Those who see school administration strictly in behavioral terms might argue that the principal simply acted inappropriately. Better training in group dynamics and how to work with the public could have

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prevented the problem, thereby saving the principal's job. Our position, however, is that school administration is more than a matter of behavioral competence. Effective administration also is a matter of "fit." We define fit as the extent to which a leader is perceived to be appropriately matched to a given context.

Administrative context is characterized by expectations (Immegart, 1988). Role theory holds that an individual occupying an organizational role usually is subject to a variety of expectations. Principals, for example, must operate in classrooms, district-wide meetings, conferences with parents, and community events. Each setting is characterized by expectations regarding the role to be played by the principal. Ideally, of course, these expectations would be identical, or at least compatible. Under such circumstances, it may be possible for a particular leader to achieve "perfect fit." Typically, however, expectations vary not only across, but within, settings. As a result, a leader may be perceived to fit by some observers, but not by others.

In the opening example, the principal failed to realize that the parents in her community prided themselves on being different from the rest of the school district. The fact that their elementary school was the only one to retain the honor roll was viewed with satisfaction, not alarm. These parents identified with the preservation of tradition and perceived their community as the last bastion of conservative values in an increasingly liberal district. They held up the previous principal as a model leader because he invariably backed parents' demands, even when such action meant opposing the will of his faculty. While his successor seemed to fit the expectations held by most teachers, she did not fit the expectations of influential parents. This mismatch eventually led to her reassignment.

The purpose of this article is to provide a clearer understanding of the notion of fit and the role it can play in the assessment of principals. We begin by examining a theoretical basis for fit. Then we draw on a set of cases about principals who experienced problems to illustrate the multi-dimensional nature of fit. Next we discuss fit in light of the literature on role theory. We close with a discussion of the implications of our analysis for the assessment of principals.

### A Theoretical Basis for Fit

Various theories have been developed to help explain leadership (Bass, 1981; Rost, 1991). Each theory implies a particular approach to the assessment of people in positions of leadership. For example, behavioral theories suggest that leadership can be understood best in terms of

specific behaviors or competencies. The behavior of leaders is presumed to differ in important ways from the behaviors of non-leaders. As a result, the assessment of leaders focuses on the extent to which individuals manifest the behaviors associated with leadership. Principals in many school systems undergo annual evaluations based on checklists of such behaviors (Duke & Stiggins, 1985).

Another way to think about leadership is based on aesthetics (Duke, 1986). This view holds that leadership is best understood as a perception or attribution. As such, it reveals as much about the person who uses it to describe someone else as the person who is described. Conceptions of leadership are rooted in culture and context and invested with meaning, much like a work of art. Conceptions of leadership can be characterized, like art, by certain properties. In an article describing an aesthetic theory of leadership, Duke identifies four such properties: direction, engagement, originality, and fit. Fit derives from the continuing interaction that takes place between a leader, followers, and the culture in which they exist:

As the leader attempts to give direction to his followers and engage their attention, so too do his followers strive to influence him and attract his commitment. For leadership to exist under such circumstances, general agreement must exist on the meanings attributed to various aspects of the culture, including its guiding values. (Duke, 1986, pp. 17-18)

Duke goes on to observe:

The cognitive perception that leadership exists may be regarded as recognition that a carefully framed situation exists in which the actions of a leader, the actions of his followers, and the traditions of their culture are mutually reinforcing and correspondingly meaningful. (1986, p. 18)

What is important in an aesthetic theory of leadership is not behavior *per se*, but the perception that behavior is congruent with the context in which it is manifested. Americans, for example, typically associate leadership with decisiveness. The Japanese, on the other hand, recognize the danger of a "premature rush to resolve a problem" (Duke, 1986, p. 19). Their culture places value on ambiguity under certain circumstances where a quick decision might "freeze things into rigidity" (Pascale, 1983, p. 515). An American leader in Japan who senses the need to make a decision, despite the fact that conditions are not right, would not be perceived to exhibit leadership. In other words, he would lack fit.

While fit has been discussed in general terms, it is unclear to what

extent perceptions of fit are multidimensional. Is fit a relatively undifferentiated property of leadership or is it associated with varying types of expectations depending on the specific context? To answer this question, we asked graduate students to collect examples from Connecticut school systems where principals had been dismissed or reassigned because of problems of fit.<sup>1</sup>

A total of 18 superintendents and assistant superintendents were interviewed. They represented districts of varying sizes, from large urban districts and affluent suburban districts to small rural districts. Respondents were asked whether they had reassigned or dismissed a principal because the individual failed to fit their situation in some way. Nine examples were identified.<sup>2</sup> Respondents were asked to provide as many details about each case as they could without breeching confidentiality. Cases were analyzed to determine the source and object of the expectations that were perceived to be unmet by the principals in question. In some cases, the problem involved a single source and/or object of expectations; in other instances, several sources and/or objects were identified.

### *Sources of Expectations*

Four distinct sources of expectations were reported to have figured in personnel decisions illustrating lack of fit. Four cases involved perceptions that a school administrator failed to match the expectations of his or her superiors. In three cases faculty members served as a source of concern. Parents represented a third source, having been cited in three cases. The local community represented the fourth source, and it, too, was mentioned in connection with three cases. While superintendents ultimately recommend that principals be reassigned or dismissed, it is important to note that they were the original source of concern over fit in only four of the nine cases.

<sup>1</sup>The authors wish to thank the following graduate students for their invaluable assistance: Barbara Campbell, Donna Crompton, Paul Fitzgerald, David Gilmore, Gary Gombar, Lynda Joly, Lorna Kenney, Janet Leonberger, Philip O'Reilly, Grace Parfitt, Patricia Reicne, G. Rogers, Elizabeth Roosen, Richard Spurling, Sande Stratton, Linda Tucker, and William White.

<sup>2</sup>Two respondents did not feel that fit was a legitimate assessment criterion. Eight respondents believed that fit was a consideration in assessing principals, but they had not been involved in dismissing or reassigning a principal because of lack of fit. The nine cases of job action based on fit were derived from the remaining eight respondents.

### Objects of Expectations

Fit is a function of expectations. Lack of fit, therefore, is associated with perceptions that an administrator failed to meet certain expectations. The nature of particular unmet expectations varied greatly from one case to another. Eight district objects of unmet expectations were identified by the respondents.

Relations with faculty members were the most frequent object of concern, being mentioned on three occasions. One case involved a male who was perceived to relate to women in a sexist manner. Another case involved perceptions by some faculty members that the principal favored a small group of teachers. The third case centered on rumored affairs between a principal and several faculty members.

How principals were perceived to handle organizational change figured in two cases. In one, a principal pressed for sudden and extensive change, despite the "mature nature" of the faculty. In the other case, the principal tried to implement new educational ideas too rapidly for the local community.

No other object of concern was cited more than once. The list includes the following:

- *Student discipline*: Assistant principal was perceived to be ineffective with older students.
- *School decision making*: Principal failed to recognize the faculty's desire to be highly involved in school decisions.
- *District goals*: Principal's values were perceived to be at odds with the goals and priorities of the school system.
- *Student achievement*: Principal "accepted" low performance from students because they came from poor families, despite their families' desire for high expectations.
- *Communications*: Principal was not perceived to communicate effectively with parents.
- *Workload*: Principal seemed to be "overwhelmed" by the work required to run a large school.
- *Ethnicity*: Principal was not a member of the dominant local ethnic group.

### Dealing With Fit Problems

What is interesting about lack of fit as an assessment category is that it need not automatically lead to dismissal, as in cases of gross incompetence, or criminal conduct. In four of the preceding cases, the administrator was reassigned within the same district. In each instance, the

administrator was reported to have performed very well in the new position, confirming the view that lack of fit does not always prove lack of administrative ability. As for the remaining five cases, two administrators were demoted to less responsible positions, two were counseled out of education, and one was fired. The last individual found a principalship in another district and was reported to have done well.

### Further Discussion of Role Theory

Further discussion of role theory provides some interesting perspectives on the concept of fit in light of our analysis of the interviews. Principals are role players who operate in an interpersonal arena or role set. Within this role set there are a number of subgroups, each having their own role expectations for the principal. In the simplest of school settings this role set would consist of three subgroups—superintendent or assistant superintendent, building staff, and parents. When new principals are assigned to schools, they must develop what Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, and Rosenthal (1964, p. 16) refer to as their *received role*. Principals develop this received role by filtering the role expectations of the subgroups comprising their role set through their own personal beliefs.

Principals do not develop this received role during the first few days on the job. Instead, the received role evolves gradually as new principals interact with the various subgroups comprising their role set. This process often includes testing the waters to see how important some expectations are (e.g., principal being visible at community events) and negotiating other expectations (e.g., principal being present at evening meetings and after-school events). The received role is dynamic in that it must be adjusted periodically as principals develop better understandings of the priorities of the subgroups comprising their role set as well as when major changes take place in the school system. A newly elected school board, the introduction of new program initiatives, and significant budget cutbacks are examples of changes that could alter the received role of principals. In summary, the received role consists of those job expectations which principals perceive as real and important to fulfill. As principals communicate their job expectations to central office and building staff, all parties begin to develop a sense of how well the principal fits. The earlier principals share the job expectations that they believe are real and important to fulfill, the easier it is to deal with any potential problems of fit.

As principals develop their received role, three conditions should be met—the role (a) should be congruent with what the organization

expects the principal to accomplish, (b) should not conflict with any high priority expectations conveyed by the subgroups comprising the principal's role set, and (c) should serve as a source of motivation and satisfaction for the principal. Each of these conditions have important implications for principal fit. If new principals find that the real job expectations are inconsistent with their professional interests and abilities, then they are unlikely to be motivated or derive a sense of satisfaction from their work. The chances are they will not fit in that school.

Fit actually begins with the selection process. Ideally, efforts should be made as principals are selected or transferred to insure that the real expectations for the job are consistent with the professional interests and abilities of the person placed in the job. A principal who was transferred and later reassigned because he did not fit commented, "I accepted the transfer to that school because I thought I could really turn things around. After I got there I found that the staff wanted a father, not a leader." This is an example of a principal being placed in a school where the real job expectations were not consistent with his professional interests and abilities. If this principal had been allowed to spend some time in that school prior to being transferred, he might have sensed that he would not fit in, and thus might not have accepted the transfer.

Principals must be on the alert to see that the received role does not conflict with high priority expectations of the subgroups comprising their role set. Stated differently, the received role should result in minimal role conflict. To the extent that role conflict cannot be minimized, there is likely to be lack of fit between the principal and the setting in which the principal is working. Principals cannot be all things to all people, but they can be reasonably effective in meeting the expectations of their critical constituencies on the major issues impacting the school. Effective principals are good at scanning the school environment and identifying what their constituencies really expect them to do. These real job expectations often are not included in the principal's job description.

When principals' jobs are in jeopardy, they often turn to their formal job descriptions and document how they have been successful in fulfilling their stated responsibilities. In many cases principals can build a reasonable case that they have fulfilled their formal responsibilities. As a result, they are not dismissed, but instead, are transferred or reassigned. The given reason—they just did not fit. They did not fit because they did not meet their real job expectations.

In some cases fit even goes beyond meeting the real job expectations and includes personal characteristics, such as the principal's style or

socioeconomic, educational, or cultural background. Problems of this nature are characterized by comments such as, "He gets the job done, but he's just not one of us. He just doesn't fit in."

Before concluding this discussion of role theory and its relationship to principal fit, it is important to address the possibility that fit may not be an issue in all school settings. Two of the administrators interviewed indicated that either principals can get the job done and continue, or principals cannot get the job done and are dismissed. Fit was not a concern. Both administrators came from school systems where, using the language of role theory, there is *unity of command* (Rizzo, House, & Lirtzman, 1970, p. 150). These are school systems in smaller, suburban, higher socioeconomic communities where there is strong, veteran leadership on the part of the superintendent. Clear goals and objectives have been developed and refined over the years for the school's educational programs. There is consistency between the formal and real job expectations for administrators. Administrators are hired carefully and supervised very professionally, but closely. For these reasons, there is a unity of command in these school systems, and role conflict and ambiguity are minimized. It is clear that in relatively tightly coupled school systems, such as this one, principal fit is not a problem. The principal's job expectations are defined very clearly and either the principal can or cannot fulfill these expectations effectively.

### Can a Principal Fit in Too Well?

To this point, the issue of fit has been discussed from the perspective of the principal not fitting in. Fit can also be a problem when the principal fits in too well. The problem of fitting in too well pertains to veteran principals. In three of four interviews conducted by one of the authors, central office administrators made reference to transferring experienced principals because they became too close to their staff. They failed to keep what the supervision literature has referred to as *professional distance*. They developed close friendships with many staff in their buildings, thus making it more difficult to deal with teachers on sensitive personnel matters. Through routine transfer, districts can ensure that good fit does not become a problem.

Another perspective on fitting in too well has been provided by Hambrick and Fukutomi (1991) in their work on the *Seasons of a CEO's Tenure*. In applying their work to the principalship, the typical principal would proceed through five "seasons." The first season is the principal's *response to mandate*. Most new principals are selected to respond to a particular mandate (e.g., to enhance achievement in the basic skills, to build better working relationships among staff, and to foster closer ties

with the parents and community). During the first 1 to 2 years, new principals focus on this mandate in order to build credibility and establish a power base.

As principals become familiar with their school, build credibility, and establish their authority, they begin to rethink the original mandate that led to their assignment. This period of rethinking the original mandate is the season of *experimentation*. This season can be very important in strengthening the power and credibility of the principal, since it is at this stage that the principal acknowledges the need to go beyond the original mandate, demonstrates an openness to new directions, and begins to lay a foundation for the future vision of the school.

The season of experimentation evolves into one of *selecting an enduring theme*. During this period principals solidify their vision for their school and how it will be run. This is a critical season, since to this point the principal has demonstrated the ability to respond to the original mandate, has explored what directions the school might take in the future, and has taken the leadership to establish a vision for where the school is going. Principals who have been successful thus far have established a high level of credibility and a strong power base. Building staff respond well to the principal’s leadership. Central office personnel and the board of education are pleased with what they see and support the principal’s vision.

Given this high level of credibility, power, and support, principals now move into the fourth season of their tenure, *convergence*. During this period, principals lead the school in the direction of the vision they have established. Their credibility and power continue to grow, depending on the level of success experienced during this season, but the principal’s task commitment begins to diminish. Strong task commitment on the part of the principal is no longer necessary, since non-leadership mechanisms have been established and set in motion to move the school toward its vision.

Does the principal still fit this school? Hambrick and Fukutomi would respond that such principals fit too well. Soon they will move into the fifth and final season—*dysfunction*. Based on their work with CEOs, the authors predict that leaders who have been successful and have built a strong power base will continue to lead the organization toward a vision, but the vision may no longer be appropriate. During this season, leaders continue to receive favorable evaluations, based largely on their prior success and strong power base. Having become overly committed to the vision that enabled them to achieve their power and success, these leaders are unable to adjust to changing circumstances. Their continued leadership ensures that their organizations will diminish in effectiveness.

### Implications and Issues

The small-scale exploratory study described above suggests that principal assessment cannot be understood solely in terms of skill-based or goal-based evaluations. Perceptions of fit also can play a role in the assessment process. These perceptions may originate from various sources and focus on a variety of distinct concerns. What are the implications of these findings?

First of all, the identification of fit as a dimension of school leadership implies that administrators cannot be regarded as "interchangeable parts." Training alone will not ensure that certain individuals will match the expectations characterizing a particular school context. Expectations go beyond technical competence to include such elusive qualities as interpersonal style, values, beliefs, and judgment. The extent to which an administrator meets expectations is a function of peoples' perceptions, an indication that fit cannot be controlled, manipulated, or easily altered the way behavior can.

The encouraging part of this finding is that failure to fit one context need not be interpreted as evidence that an administrator cannot succeed in other contexts. In five cases where an administrator was transferred to a new school or found a position in another district, respondents felt that the administrators experienced success. Such a finding is very important given the dwindling number of educators interested in becoming principals, particularly at the secondary level. The notion of fit recognizes that successful leadership is as much a function of careful placement as it is a product of special traits or thorough training.

The preceding conclusion has implications for small school districts. Such systems have fewer administrative positions than large systems. As a result, reassignment is less of an option for small school districts. It is reasonable to expect, therefore, that principals in small districts who are perceived not to fit are more likely to be fired or demoted than their large district counterparts.

Large districts, on the other hand, often reassign or "rotate" school administrators on a periodic basis. The notion of fit suggests that routine rotation should be undertaken with caution. In one of the cases, a superintendent lost his job because he tried to rotate principals. In so doing, he upset parents who wished to keep the principals with whom they had become accustomed. Of course, there also are problems with systems like New York City, where principals have been tenured to their schools. Lack of fit leaves the central administration little choice but to press for dismissal unless the principal voluntarily accepts a transfer.

It would be interesting to study districts that periodically rotate ad-

ministrators to determine whether certain administrators are never assigned to particular schools. The reasons why, if district officials are willing to share them, could provide important insights into the nature of perceptions of fit.

The case studies suggested that fit is a complex construct with various dimensions. This finding raises the possibility that a particular administrator may fit a school in some ways, but not in others. The principal in the opening vignette, for instance, was perceived to fit by her faculty, but not by influential parents. More study is needed to determine whether certain dimensions of fit are more critical than others.

A related question concerns the extent to which problems of fit can be overcome. Are transfer, demotion, and dismissal the only ways to deal with poor fit? Cases where administrators successfully adjusted to situations characterized by lack of fit need to be found and studied. Such research would be of great value to those who prepare and supervise school administrators. In this regard, Hart (1992) has provided useful ideas to help new principals assess school culture, thereby increasing the likelihood that they will understand the extent to which they fit their context.

Acknowledging that fit may figure in the assessment of principals does not mean that we always approve of its use. Our concern centers on the use of fit to mask personnel decisions based solely on administrators' gender, race, or ethnicity. To claim that a black principal does not fit the context of a predominantly white school is to ignore our society's commitment to merit and equal opportunity. Great care must be taken to ensure that fit is not used as a convenient justification for personnel decisions that are discriminatory and illegal.

One final issue concerns the possibility that certain school contexts exist where no administrator fits. It is possible, for example, to imagine situations where the expectations of various stakeholders are so thoroughly incompatible that effective leadership is an impossibility. Rather than placing faith in finding the "right" administrator for such impossible situations, district leaders may be better off following more direct strategies, such as reassigning discontented faculty or redrawing catchment area boundaries in order to achieve shared expectations among parents.

In conclusion, there is evidence that the assessment of principals cannot be understood fully without taking into account perceptions of fit. While these perceptions lie beyond the control of principals, principals may be able to influence perceptions of fit and make necessary adjustments if they at least acknowledge the existence of fit and try to understand it.

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# The Social and Organizational Influence of Principals: Evaluating Principals in Context

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*Ann Weaver Hart*

Principals lead organizations that are among the most important in our society. They fill a pivotal role in schools. While their responsibilities often include teacher evaluation, practices of principal evaluation have not kept pace in focus, sophistication, or reliability with changes in schools and schooling or with developments in teacher evaluation. Principal evaluation remains an underdeveloped aspect of education research and development (Duke & Stiggins, 1985). While some argue that the complexity of schools makes principals' evaluation on the basis of outcomes unrealistic, the need increases for models that tie evaluation more closely with valued outcomes. With expanding diversity of structure and goals among public schools, the growing popularity of site-based management and parental governance committees, and mounting demands for accountability for outcomes rather than procedural compliance from schools, these needs can only grow. In the face of these demands, frameworks for principal evaluation tend to be atheoretical and idiosyncratic.

Models that tie principal evaluation to accountability for outcomes deserve exploration. This article describes one possible model based on the interaction of principals with the social system of schools. It relies on organizational socialization and leader/follower interaction theories and explores factors that link principals' actions to the positive outcomes they seek in schools. These factors then can be incorporated into principal evaluation practices.

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Social interaction theories offer insights missing from the mainstream of existing principal evaluation practice. They guard against evaluation schemes that "overattend to variables that are not as important in facilitating strong educational outcomes" and recognize "the importance of the school's social context in determining student achievement" (Heck, Larsen, & Marcoulides, 1990, p. 122).

In this article, I examine some dynamics shaping a social context/student achievement connection and their application to principal evaluation. First, I provide a brief background on current principal evaluation systems and the sparse basic research on principal evaluation. Second, I review a few principles drawn from scholarship on the social and organizational influence of formal leaders (e.g., principals). The implications of this literature for an evaluation framework based on leader/school interaction form the third and most extensive portion of the article. In this third section, I discuss the importance of effective work relationships, principals' skill in performing organizational analysis, the power of the interaction view of schools, and the search for and assessment of desired outcomes. I conclude with the implications of this research for a best professional practice standard and its applicability to the improvement of principal evaluation.

### Background

While teacher evaluation receives tremendous emphasis in the professional and popular literature, principal evaluation languishes. Glasman and Heck (1987), Duke and Stiggins (1985), and others point out that this omission leaves education with a single dimension system—only one group of professionals is held accountable. The teacher evaluation literature, too, shies away from outcome accountability, focusing instead on the observation of behaviors, primarily because teachers and scholars assert that teaching and learning are too complex to hold any single professional accountable for outcomes. This does not mean that principals and their superiors never talk about "outcome-based principal evaluation" (Valentine, 1987), nor that behavioral objectives (Valentine, 1986), principal characteristics (Manatt, 1989), and long lists of competencies and standards of performance (Erickson, 1988) do not appear in principal evaluation systems.

These lists, characteristics, behavioral objectives, and competencies in the principal evaluation literature tend to be descriptive and perceptually based. Seldom do articles about principal evaluation appear in scholarly research journals, and seldom do they adhere to accepted standards of rigor for personnel evaluation research applied to a carefully collected data base (Ginsberg & Berry, 1990). They often rely on

perceptual data collected from teachers, district administrators, and parents who have little interaction with principals (Garrett & Flanigan, 1991). Some scholars see this trend promoting a "fudge factor" (Ginsberg & Berry, 1989) that allows power and influence to affect the outcome of evaluation more strongly than do criteria related to schools' performance or outcomes. Harrison and Peterson (1986) found that this situation results in principal evaluation systems that break down even when they are statewide and carefully monitored. Inconsistencies develop because of the differences between the nature of principals' work and the nature of the evaluation decoupled from context.

This inconsistency results in conflict and ambiguity. Much of the ambiguity and conflict vest in the debate about student outcome measures. As professionals debate the merits of outcome accountability for educators, society remains undecided on appropriate measures that define student achievement. Conflicts develop in perceptions as well as the operationalization of evaluation systems. For example, Harrison (1988) found that superintendents, teachers, and others cannot agree on the clarity and positive effects of principal evaluation. Their perceptions of actual evaluation events differ, and principals continue to believe that superintendents rely most heavily on external measures of performance while reporting that they rely on internal measures. The importance of appropriate action-in-context for assessing principals' performance remains obscure in this descriptive literature.

Research reveals means through which linkages can be explored among student learning, teacher behaviors, and principal actions in context, however. Among the frameworks applicable to this inquiry, leader organizational socialization holds promise. This theoretical perspective, viewed as interaction between the formal leader and the social system, highlights factors that principals' superiors can use to structure more outcome-oriented evaluation systems.

### **The Social and Organizational Influence of Principals**

The traditional search for principal effects on schools has failed to shed much light on *how* principals affect teachers' and students' actions and, subsequently, school outcomes. One promising approach for advancing this research can be found in theories of social interaction that lead to heightened social influence by formal leaders—social validation or endorsement of authority and cultural leadership. Blau (1964) asserted that healthy interactions between leaders and followers creates group pressures that strengthen the leader's power of control and legitimate or endorse her authority. Schein (1985) argued that perceptive, sophisticated social analysis by leaders can promote the use of an organizational

culture to identify, pursue, and achieve valued goals. This social influence may be the most important function of leadership. Both scholars focus their attention on the interaction of the leader with the group around issues of importance to the social whole and on leadership as a form of endorsed social influence (Dornbush & Scott, 1975; Scott, 1987).

In the discussion that follows, I examine principals' social influence in interaction with schools, its potential impacts on teachers' and students' beliefs, perceptions, descriptions of their educational lives and actions, and pivotal considerations for the practice of educational administration. Policymakers should attend to these issues when designing training and assessment systems for principals, and principals should attend to them when working to influence teacher and student outcomes (Hart, 1993; Smith & Peterson, 1988; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Examples are drawn from the research on principal instructional leadership, socialization, and effects. A number of themes from the sociology and social psychology literature frame the discussion, among them:

1. An effective principal can only achieve influence beyond the ordinary, minimum levels enforced by formal authority when his leadership has been endorsed or legitimized by teachers and other members of the school organization. Validation is a social, not an individual, process.
2. Principals can learn to analyze and shape the social processes that lead to validation by the school as a social unit.
3. Current practice for educating, appointing, and socializing principals promotes a custodial response from principals, reinforcing conventional behavior that limits the creativity and innovation necessary to improve student and teacher outcomes in a diverse and rapidly changing social context.
4. Districts can design training and socialization experiences for principals that enable role and content innovation and the development of creative new solutions to school problems.
5. The need for a principal to respect the existing school culture and work within it and the need for change and innovation will conflict. Principals should be aware of and plan to deal with this conflict. They also should be able to deal with the constant tension between the stability of the social group and their own potential contribution and individual creativity.
6. A major mechanism through which principals can help shape outcomes is social information processing and sense making—the development of a "shared reality" within the school social group that affirms the achievement of goals.
7. Leaders who tend to be most successful in their organizations also

tend to experience personal change and growth as they influence outcomes. Development is a two-way, interactive process.

8. Social influence behavior and outcomes can be observed, documented, and used as part of principal accountability and evaluation criteria (Hart, 1991, 1993).

### **Leader/School Interaction as an Evaluation Framework**

Like other professionals, the actions principals take are appropriate or inappropriate in a given context. They cannot be decoupled from the school the principal is assigned to lead. One can ask whether a principal's actions are justified, whether accepted standards of professional behavior would lead another principal to similar conclusions. Principals should be held to a standard of behavior consonant with those in similar circumstances. Standards tie knowledge and action to context. This absolute reality requires principal evaluation frameworks that acknowledge the importance of actions taken in context under unique circumstances. (Later, I tie this argument to a call for a best professional practice standard.)

Common principal evaluation schemes, on the other hand, often emphasize processes such as student behavior management and control and communication skills. They highlight congruence and conformity—loyalty to superiors and personal appearance. The most common criteria used to evaluate principals, superior and patron satisfaction, also are the most frequent causes for dismissal! As I briefly discussed in the background section of this article, the popular professional literature reveals how very suspect such systems are, as authors describe the obfuscation and power of the "fudge factor" (Ginsberg & Berry, 1989).

Another major influence over principal evaluation accompanied the effective schools literature in the late 1970s and the 1980s. Almost as it hit the presses, the effective schools research highlighted the imperative that context must be part of any comprehensive attempt to evaluate the appropriateness and utility of principals' actions. Effective principals were described by scholars of effective schools as strong and directive leaders who set high but attainable standards and then resolutely held teachers and students accountable for reaching them (Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan, & Lee, 1982; Edmonds, 1982). Immediately, critics noted that the research on which these recommendations were based was conducted almost exclusively in under-performing, urban elementary schools. These schools faced formidable challenges, unquestionably. Yet findings were generalized to other settings with very different problems.

At the same time, "effectiveness" criteria proved unstable (Rowan, Bossert, & Dwyer, 1983).

### *Effective Working Relationships*

These context problems with principal evaluation models highlight the central functions served by an interaction perspective for principal evaluation focused on the principal and the school. First, a principal's work often is decoupled from the teaching and learning experience. Principals exert little direct control over the teaching and learning process, even as they function as the focal point of organizational processes and governance (Kmetz & Willower, 1982; Martin & Willower, 1981). They lack the absolute power or even direct influence that allows causal linkages (even inferred causal linkages) to be drawn with confidence. Thus, indirect interaction becomes more important.

Second, others, including teachers, may function as instructional leaders in effective schools (Duke, 1987; Edmonds, 1982; Little, 1982, 1990). To attribute any gains in student achievement to principals would be impossible. This reality directs attention to the professional work group and to the principal's ability to affect members' concerted efforts toward improvements in student outcomes. These two features of schools—that the principal's work is indirectly linked at best to actions immediately leading to student achievement and that others function as instructional leaders in schools—require that principal evaluation focus on social interaction dynamics.

A focus on effective working relationships relies on the power of the school social system to affect students' work and learning. The interaction between the principal and the school social unit is within the influence of a principal, amenable to study and assessment, and known to affect the actions and outcomes of schools. Superintendents and other supervisors can examine principals' use of organizational analysis techniques that can enhance their success as school leaders and provide opportunities to promote the instructional practices and goals valued by the school district.

This emphasis may be played out in several ways. First, principals can provide evidence that they have examined and understand the unique professional goals and aspirations of a school's faculty. These professional aspirations can be marshalled as resources for facilitating and improving student outcomes.

Second, principals can identify key spokespersons for the faculty, opinion leaders, outliers, and respected opponents to demonstrate their

ability to conduct and use organizational analysis to understand the school, its culture, and its most powerful ways to accomplish goals. They can use this information to plan exchange sessions with other principals, to implement important school level improvement strategies, and to tap the best resources the school has to offer as a composite resource for teachers, students, parents, and communities to achieve their goals (Schein, 1985).

Third, a principal can prepare (in written or oral form) a cultural analysis of the school, a description of shared realities, beliefs, and values along with diversions from this group assessment. This analysis can be used to identify differences, seek organizational ways of doing things that are established and accepted by professionals and community members, and diagnose points of conflict that require attention, amelioration, or negotiation. Principals should be able to tell their superiors what norms, beliefs, assumptions, and ways of knowing and doing shape work and sense making in the school. They can then identify intervention areas with high potential and areas in which they face major obstacles, opposition, or social system obstructions. As Schein (1985) pointed out, there may be no such thing as a "good" or "bad" organizational culture, but there definitely are better or poorer ways of understanding and using culture to help organizational members achieve goals.

Knowledge and use of teachers' professional values provide a fourth school social system feature on which principals can be evaluated. Principals should know about teachers' professional values. These values underlie teachers' searches for opportunities to demonstrate their knowledge and skills and fulfill their professional goals.

A fifth way in which evaluation can be used to enhance and enforce principal effects on the social organization of schools relates to resources. Principals who demonstrate ways in which they have garnered valued resources needed by teachers also demonstrate how they have made a social system more effective, how they have moved toward acceptance, endorsement, and validation, and how they have promoted desired outcomes. Superiors can ask for evidence that principals are working to secure resources (i.e., staff development, information, training, reallocation of funds) that teachers value and use in their instructional work. By evaluating organizational and cultural analyses on the part of principals and the social interactions among principals and others who work in schools, superiors define the processes and outcomes they value and focus principals' attention on the knowledge and skills that promote school achievement.

### *Organizational Analysis by Principals*

The successful nurturing of these effective school relationships requires that principals *know* their schools and that they be able to analyze and understand complex interactions. Acknowledging this complexity of leadership in organizations, Bennis (1990) said: "Sooner or later, each of us has to accept the fact that complexity is here to stay . . ." (p. 113). Complexity requires that principals develop the orientation that supports a commitment to recognizing and learning about their school organizations and a quest for the knowledge and skills necessary for insightful and penetrating organizational analysis.

Models for analyzing the culture, values, and needs of organizations exist in many forms. Qualitative research methods grounded in (a) the examination of documents; (b) open-ended and carefully planned interviews; (c) careful, iterative analyses; (d) audits of preliminary conclusions; and (e) checking for representativeness or for outliers and checking with other participants provide a rigorous and uncomplicated model when modified for the realities of principals' experience in school organizational life (Hart, 1986). Schein (1985) offered basic questions and methods useful to analysts interested in understanding organizational culture that can be readily adapted by administrators (Hart, 1993). He asserted that cultural leadership may be the most important function of administrators, and scholars studying educational administration concur (Miskel & Cosgrove, 1985). Simultaneously, these organizational analyses provide hard data on which principals' work can be assessed and provide a rich foundation for discussion and intervention with the help of other educators in district organizations. Careful education and plans for analysis form the basis for this approach because the process is far from simple. Culture rests in the deep level of:

... basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared by members of an organization, that operate unconsciously, and that define in a basic "taken-for-granted" fashion an organization's view of itself and its environment. These assumptions and beliefs are *learned* responses to a group's problems of *survival* in its external environment and its problems of *internal integration*. They come to be taken for granted because they solve those problems repeatedly and reliably. This deeper level of assumptions . . . culture . . . is a *learned product of group experience* and is, therefore, to be found only where there is a definable group with a significant history [emphasis in the original]. (Schein, 1985, pp. 6-7)

More concrete meanings for culture mentioned by Schein also provide insight into social factors to which principals can attend. First, a prin-

cipal can describe observed behavioral regularities that people exhibit when they interact. These could include the language used and the rituals surrounding deference and demeanor. Such things as the use of first names among teachers, the use of a title or degree when addressing the principal ("Dr."), or open-door expectations held by teachers for access to a principal. Second, a principal should be aware of norms that evolve in a working group. These norms can be functional or dysfunctional, but ignorance of them can cause major problems for any group member. Teachers who come to work early and leave late might suffer group sanctions for violating a rate or the norm of "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay," for being rate-busters. Third, dominant values related to the work of the school (such as "diversity," "individualization," or "high academic standards") shape actions and reactions of teachers and students alike. Fourth, the philosophies that guide policy formation might exercise considerable influence on principal actions. These policy philosophies include such things as "every student matters," "teachers are professionals," or "work to contract." Fifth, principals can analyze and use operative rules of the game. These rules must be learned by every newcomer and by every leader who expects to be accepted and eventually influence behaviors and outcomes in schools. Finally, many find that culture includes a feeling, tone, or climate that the physical surroundings communicate. This feeling shapes how members of the school interact with each other, with students and clients, or with outsiders.

In addition to these commonly shared meanings, a principal can be held accountable for coming to know and using interaction patterns that are an established part of the school and are passed on to new members as if they are objective reality (Louis, 1980). These patterns can be dysfunctional or functional and include things like "football players never take exams during fall term" or "teachers use professional leave days for the elk hunt, even though policy explicitly forbids the recreational use of professional leave." Principals must analyze interactions among teachers, administrators, parents, students, and staff in order to understand and use the patterns of culture and, subsequently, shape actions. Schein warns leaders that they cannot expect to change culture: "Do not assume that culture can be manipulated like other matters under the control of managers. Culture controls the manager more than the manager controls culture, through the automatic filters that bias the manager's perceptions, thoughts, and feelings" (Schein, 1985, p. 314).

The manner in which principals interact within complex social systems provides grist for discussion and evaluation. Its use rests in the fundamental acceptance of socialization and leadership as interaction processes involving mutual influence.

If principals' superiors hope to use interaction patterns and hold principals accountable for understanding their school organizations, they must provide a structure and framework for principals to use in constructing their analyses. This same structure then can be used to assess principals' actions. A process recommended by Schein (1985) for researchers seeking to analyze culture can be adapted for use by principals. Hart (1993) adapted Schein's researchers' questions for principals who want to do a thorough school analysis:

1. Early in the entry stage a new principal can structure active experiences and systematic observation and then deliberately note surprises.
2. By using systematic observation and checking to calibrate surprising experiences, a new principal can verify that surprising events indeed repeat and are not idiosyncratic. They are part of the school culture.
3. Locate an insider who can (and is willing to) analytically decipher and explain what is going on.
4. Use insiders to reveal surprises and puzzles and to verify hunches. Avoid abstractions and generalizations.
5. Jointly explore possible cultural descriptions with others in the school to find explanations; systematically probe for underlying assumptions and patterns.
6. Formalize explanations that make sense and state operational values that can be derived from observable behavior.
7. Systematically check conclusions with existing documents and records, stories, and other artifacts, in conversations, using systematic observations.
8. Push to the level of assumptions. Try to go beyond the articulated values of group members, and try to understand the deeper layer of assumptions behind them.
9. Perpetually recalibrate and adjust your conclusions about the culture as new data continually surface.
10. Formalize the assessment of culture through a written description.

(pp. 131-132)

As a principal accomplishes these tasks and reflects on them, superiors can engage in discussion and observe actions that reflect the analysis. In the process, supervisors create a principal evaluation process grounded in data about the school, its needs, and the deepest aspirations for achievement of its professionals, patrons, and students.

Another factor within the social context on which principals can focus and against which their actions can be measured relates to the interaction of children with their community—its expectations and beliefs, knowledge, and culture (Medina, 1990). While some scholars and community activists contend that schools should target their goals for

the actual world in which particular kinds of children will work and live, others counter that this demand represents a subtle form of discrimination in the guise of acceptance and cultural diversity. It also unnecessarily empowers those with a limited or narrow concept of children's potential, preventing them from attaining the levels and kinds of education necessary to break down barriers and explore different lives (Hart, 1990, 1991). Communities differ in the values and in the demands they place on children, but the appropriate balance between acceptance and opportunity remains unclear. These values often include a political climate that shapes education and beliefs about what school "leaders" should look like that exclude talented people (Hart, 1993). Principals' evaluators always must vigilantly guard against reverting to compliance and congruity criteria, thus burying the potential creativity and contribution of school leaders from different ethnic or racial groups and women.

### *Response and Planning*

Despite the insight these perspectives offer, developing specific means through which principals and their superiors can assess the relative success of principals' work in context poses a challenge. Research on interaction effects between leaders and organizations suggests a number of promising criteria. First, principals can present evidence of data gathering and planned interventions in the processing of information, interpretation drawing, and sense making related to goal definition and accomplishment. This evidence, presented as interview notes, field notes, written records, or action plans, should rely on analyses of worthy professional, cultural, and community goals combined with the principal's professional knowledge and moral and technical understandings.

Second, principals can demonstrate their observation and analysis of student and school outcomes, evidence that they are collecting feedback and information, seeking alternative explanations for observed outcomes, and staying in touch with the expectations, beliefs, and interpretations of others. Along with this process, principals can analyze their relative "fit" with the expectations and beliefs about school leadership held by the community, their congruence and incongruence in the setting, and interventions these analyses suggest.

This second requirement implies that principals will be resourceful and complex people. How can principals use their best resources, complexity, and knowledge to achieve group commitment to their leadership? I like to use Weick's analogy of the spines of leadership to illustrate this influence and interactive view of principal leadership. Weick as-

serted that a common carpenter's tool, the contour gauge, offers an apt image of leader behavior. In order to act appropriately, leaders must reflect or mirror the characteristics (e.g., values, goals, beliefs) and needs of the organization. The more complex the leader, the more responses available to her or him, the more options for action. The contour gauge is made up of spines that, when pushed against a physical object, reflect its shape. The reflection, or rendering, can then be used to recreate the shape in other mediums. A floor tile may thus be cut to fit a door molding; a piece of wall board may encompass a cabinet exactly. This modeling, according to Weick, provides insight into the requirements of leadership. While principals may be evaluated on the basis of outcomes, the power to accomplish goals comes from the group, and so principals who are successful at effectively harnessing the knowledge and power of the other professionals with whom they work are successful leaders. Weick called this "passive leadership."

This view of leadership suggests that principals can be responsive, can tailor their actions to the needs of each school. Leaders' "spines" (Weick, 1978) provide a means toward this end. This responsive view of leadership accommodates talent, knowledge, and experience. In practice, each principal fears the label "not a leader" and the pressure to act an heroic part that may be inappropriate. Images and beliefs denigrating the interactive, responsive nature of leadership plague those seeking to improve their leadership by improving their understanding of and interaction with schools.

The "passive" leader Weick advocated also must know herself. Self-awareness—about personality, talents and weaknesses, skills and knowledge, social congruities or incongruities that affect others' perceptions in a given context—plays an important part in this grounding of principal action in context if it is to be used as a criteria for evaluation. It also shapes inquiry into the advantages and challenges of appointing leaders who are members of a minority group or women. Briefly, demonstrated familiarity with their talents can go far in helping principals address outcome-directed behavior. Principals can (a) analyze superordinates, existing organizational factors, and the effects of their selection and appointment in a school; (b) tap their individual creativity for ways to affect outcomes; (c) capitalize on the window of opportunity that comes with a change in leadership, their own appointment to a school; (d) systematically analyze their effect on factors that affect school performance, and how that might best be accomplished; and (e) work to make sense of their actions as leaders that address outcomes rather than compliance.

### *The Interaction View*

If one accepts the implications of research to date, this article leads to strong support for non- (not un-) heroic evaluations of school leadership grounded in interaction. An interaction view of principals' responsibilities sets up a context-imbedded evaluation that rectifies many of the shortcomings of principal evaluation systems noted in the preceding discussion. It places the onus on districts that fail to provide socialization experiences (tactics) providing first-time and succeeding principals with the tools and orientation that promote knowledge about and ability to influence school interaction processes and outcomes. It consequently addresses results, because traditional searches for principal effects on schools fail to shed much light on *how* principals affect teacher and student actions and, subsequently, outcomes. Searches focusing on interactions illuminate district effects on principals (tactics to socialize and affect behavior) and an understanding of the interaction process (how and why outcomes, organizational changes, and making sense of information affect school effectiveness). What is the shared reality? How do the professionals and students make sense of their schooling experience?

### *Interaction as Leadership*

The homage leadership receives in our culture and in literature leads many principals to conclude that they stand alone at the epicenter of ideas, plans, actions, and culture that drive schools' performance. Experience and research belie this simple expectation. While principals are an important factor in the school organization, their opportunities to exert influence on schools depend on their ability to understand and use their personal and social power *in the particular context in which they work*. As their knowledge of the social processes in which they are embroiled increases and their ability to use that knowledge to interpret and shape events grows, principals become more likely to observe and respond to critical factors central to the performance of the schools which they *can* influence. Consequently, principals and superiors need a heightened awareness of and experience in diagnosing and working with the powerful social forces that shape schools, districts, and communities.

Three principles relate directly to this contextual imperative. First, principals function as part of a group of expert professionals who influence each other. When the information exchange attends too exclusively to the principal, information, action, and impacts of intervention are unnecessarily limited. Second, the complexities of school/principal inter-

actions do not make them indecipherable. While principals deal with wonderfully complex social situations, they are fundamentally and absolutely human events. Principals who choose to hone their knowledge and skill analyzing and diagnosing the social dynamics of their own and others' roles in schools can develop strategies to deal with these complex social processes (Andrews, 1971). Finally, principals who can define and understand the power of the group can tap that power. In western culture, we retain a bias in favor of "strong" leaders—assertive pioneers who strike out alone and pave the way for more timid followers. We seek new metaphors for leadership that affirm our heroic expectations (Beck & Murphy, *in press*). Yet, cultural and symbolic views of leadership exist side-by-side with these expectations and researchers find intriguing evidence of their power in many different cultures (Bolman & Deal, 1992). The group and the leader remain symbiotic, inextricably intertwined. These findings allay fears that an emphasis on interaction negates leadership (Hart, 1993).

### *Intervention*

Findings reported in the literature on leader succession and assessments of school leadership support a call for principal accountability for interactive leadership. Assessing a principal's action plan involves:

1. Assessing the news (and the no-news warnings).
2. Planning for endorsed leadership from professionals, parents, and students.
3. Demonstrating valued knowledge, skills, and characteristics—getting to know you without showing off.
4. Avoiding the custodial response; simply recreating the past with its interpretations and conventional solutions.
5. Diagnosing and influencing interactions; shaping information and sense making to form commonly held explanations and interpretations for events.
6. Using the window of opportunity to implement change and reform presented by change, including the assignment or reassignment of the principal.
7. Respecting the culture—balancing the tension between individual creativity and cultural stability.
8. Attending to beliefs and interpretations.
9. Deemphasizing social incongruities and playing to your professional and personal strengths.
10. Avoiding the "in my old school, we" syndrome—don't compare.

### *Looking for and Assessing Desired Outcomes*

All this work is wasted if outcomes cannot be tied to actions. One way to assess the results of all this careful organizational level work emerges from the organizational socialization literature on management succession as general categories of leader action: (a) custodianship, (b) content innovation, and (c) role innovation (Hart, 1993). When considered in context and weighed against the needs of the school, these categories can be used to evaluate the outcomes of principals' leadership in schools.

A custodial response reflects the conclusion that the inherited past has much to recommend it. A principal may find that the context warrants actions in support of survival and functional achievement (getting by). The principal simply learns the substantive requirements of the job and customary strategies to meet these requirements. Both morally and technically, to use Greenfield's terms (1985), the principal replicates the actions of her predecessors. This is by far the most common outcome when new principals (or other managers, for that matter) succeed to an assignment (Hart, 1993).

A response aimed toward content innovation introduces new knowledge and tactical alternatives for defining and addressing educational problems at a school. While the ends or goals remain unchallenged, the means through which the principal seeks to accomplish them change. Substantive changes in the knowledge base or in strategic practices are made. While traditional norms and goals remain unchallenged, existing strategies or technologies-in-use evolve.

Under some circumstances, educational problems, the environment, or demands for learning placed on students warrant innovative leadership action. In such cases, the desired outcome may be role innovation, the most radical outcome of principal-school interaction. The principal may attack and attempt to change the mission associated with the principal's role. Not only are definitions of educational problems and strategies challenged, but the norms governing conduct, responsibilities, and performance of the principal's role and redefinition of school goals change. While this outcome is rare, it also is the most *expected* when reforms are initiated.

Studies of leader succession yield evidence that the most common outcome is custodial when a new formal leader takes charge, even when this outcome is dysfunctional. The ubiquitousness of custodial outcomes may affect our choice of outcome variables for principal evaluation. One of the reasons many are reluctant to use outcomes to evaluate principals may be that changes in content and structure are so difficult:

The tendency for old-system norms to persist so that they may interfere with proper component action in a new system [is so powerful] that students of industrial and other production often recommend a thorough change of personnel in a new system rather than a retraining of the old. (Monane, 1967, p. 19)

While principals and schools depend on each other and affect and shape each other, the relative influence exerted by a principal can provide a measure of success. This influence can be a portion of a comprehensive outcome focus in principal evaluation. The reciprocal relationship can be a source of power if a group coalesces around a principal's leadership:

Shared feelings of loyalty and group norms tend to emerge that make compliance with [the leader's] directives a *social* obligation that is enforced by the subordinates themselves. . . . The crucial problem for the formal leader, with undeniable power, is to win the loyalty and legitimating approval of subordinates, particularly since his power may tempt him to dominate them instead of winning their respect and willing compliance. (Blau, 1964, pp. 207, 210)

Knowledge about these social processes makes it possible to hold principals accountable for establishing effective working relationships, particularly as they take over a new assignment. Gabarro argued that "a new manager's ability to develop effective working relationships discriminates . . . strongly between . . . failed and successful successions" (1987, p. 166). Researchers focusing their efforts on understanding the behavior of effective principals also find substantial relationships between school context and principals' behavior (Martinko & Gardner, 1984, 1987).

By using context/action fit outcomes rather than preestablished touchstones of behavior as criteria for principal evaluation (as many current systems do—see Erickson, 1988, and Valentine, 1986), educators acknowledge that schools and their norms and needs exist free of "good" or "bad" labels (Hitt & Ireland, 1987). Deal and Peterson described the experience principals have when they attempt to affect the appropriate use and development of school culture:

A school's culture has been created well before most principals arrive; it will exist long after most leave. Only a few principals may have the opportunity to start afresh in a brand-new school, but even then the new teachers and students will carry cultural imprints from their previous place—as will the principal.

Most principals must work with a cultural tapestry that is already woven. They must somehow reinforce thin spots or tears, shape it to

cover different or changed surfaces, or even try to reverse the fabric without unraveling the shared meaning. There is a delicate balance between a principal's doing nothing and doing harm. The Chinese call this balance *wei-wu*, the place between inaction and undue force. (1990, p. 14)

### *Outcomes as Measures of Performance*

Despite this ambiguity, schools do function. Studies show that interventions shape effects, and that education professionals can take action. School reform studies provide evidence supportive of a renewed attention to outcomes as part of education evaluation. Ebmeier and Hart (1992), for example, looked at the organizational health outcomes of structural changes in teacher work. Career ladders, they found, had a differential impact on teachers' career plans, coordination and communication, and perceptions of improved instruction. Students felt less alienated. The data revealed dynamic relationships that function as intermediate variables improving student performance. Ebmeier and Hart showed that outcomes at an organizational level of intervention can be assessed. They function as a respectable focus of inquiry over time. Studies like this provide support for a continued search for organizational outcomes of principals' actions, because school leaders may be more directly tied to schools' performance than are structural changes in teachers' work and career patterns.

### **Summary and Conclusions: A Best Professional Practice Standard**

Rather than relying on research about principals, teachers, and students interacting in schools, principal evaluation systems traditionally have drawn their criteria from accreditation organizations. Lists of skill or competence standards are developed, and competence/compliance constitutes performance (Duke & Stiggins, 1985). Following the same principle, criteria focusing on dress and demeanor, completion of discreet tasks, and demonstrated competence in skills deemed important for principals meet excellence criteria for principal evaluation. These standards *ignore* the "so what" question. So, what happened in the school the principal was assigned to lead? So, how did teachers, students, and the community rally to promote educational achievement for the young people who attend this school? So, what educational goals were achieved that were valued by the community and the professional educators who work in the school? So, what *happened*?

A number of scholars challenge this placid view of principal eval-

ation, asking us instead to confront the bare and uncompromising outcomes of our schools. Using data to support principal evaluation based on results appropriate to the school, Duke and Stiggins (1985) argued for the "best professional practice" standard of evaluation, focusing attention on the desired outcomes and actions link, not on behavioral (or social) compliance.

This examination of principal evaluation based on the interaction of principals with the schools to which they are assigned affirms their call for a best professional practice standard. Whatever the motives, morals, or beliefs of educators, the standard to which they adhere is grounded in outcomes assessed in context. The best current knowledge about teaching and learning and about management and leadership in organizations appropriately applied in each school setting provides the criteria on which such a standard is based. Schon (1983) found this context-imbedded criteria to be a hallmark of professional work. He argued that professionals, be they managers, educators, doctors, ministers, or architects, draw on a complex body of knowledge to assess a unique situation and apply that knowledge to take appropriate action. The distinguishing feature of this definition of professional work is that action must be warranted by the unique facts of a given situation. It supports a context-grounded, interactive view of principal assessment—it is the "reasonable man" (*American Jurisprudence*, 1989) criteria of torte litigation that sustains our society's view of responsible behavior.

The outcomes of principals' actions or interventions may be social (compliance on the part of the adults who work in schools) or related directly to students' present and future achievement on valued learning criteria. Achievement outcomes address with bald vigor and honesty the absolute purpose of schools: that our children and youth acquire social, scientific, and literary knowledge; that their well-being as human beings and as productive members of the social whole increase as their self-awareness and personal power increase. The educative process affirms and promotes their rights as human beings. A social interaction approach to principal evaluation supports a commitment to this educative process.

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# Dilemmas and Solutions Regarding Principal Evaluation

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## Introduction

School reform embraced the American psyche in the 1980s, and waves of initiatives emerged to revitalize and improve a system perceived as not meeting the country's needs (Murphy, 1990; Plank & Ginsberg, 1990). Today, ideas such as school choice, for-profit schools, site-based management, participatory decision-making, teacher empowerment, school restructuring, and an array of other reforms fill the educational lexicon as reformers seek alternative means for better educating the nation's youth. Indeed, even the President of the United States has set six national goals for education, while a private corporation, the New American Schools Development Corporation, embarked on a several hundred million dollar effort to come up with "break-the-mold" designs for schools.

Within all the reform efforts, a singularly common expectation is that the principal must be the key figure in a school. Inspired by research on school effectiveness, which consistently found strong leadership a hallmark of instructionally effective schools (Duke, 1987), reformers collectively recognize the central importance of the principal for a school's success. As Liphart (1981) succinctly argued, "effective principal, effective school."

From this research on school effectiveness the idea of principals serving as instructional leaders of their schools emerged. According to De Bevoise (1984), instructional leadership includes "those actions that a principal takes, or delegates to others, to promote the growth in student

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learning" (p. 15). Instructional leaders make certain that various predictable functions or situations are handled appropriately (Duke, 1987). This idea is so well accepted that few would question an article title in a leading principal's journal which boldly claimed, "Principals are instructional leaders: It's a fact—not a myth" (Weldy, 1978).

Given the accepted importance of the principal and his or her instructional leadership for any successful school, it is understandable that many states and school districts are interested in evaluating their principals' performance. Peters and Bagenstos (1988), for example, found that 77% of the states were requiring principal evaluation, usually once a year. In Canada, Duhamel, Cyze, Lamacraft, and Rutherford (1981) surveyed 66 school boards in Ontario and found that 60% were utilizing some form of formal assessment for principals. And with increasing demands in this country and abroad on improving the performance of students, while the economic reality suggests that more must be done with less resources, this emphasis on principal assessment and accountability will probably increase.

But how should principals be evaluated? This question raises an assortment of significant issues, as a principal's work is difficult to characterize for purposes of traditional evaluation practices, while at the same time processes of principal evaluation are understudied. This article explores several of the dilemmas facing those interested in developing processes for principal evaluation, and drawing from program evaluation practices, suggests a consumer-oriented outcomes-based approach for evaluating principals. The article concludes with a set of criteria for assessing any principal evaluation program.

### **Dilemmas in Evaluating School Principals**

Nobody particularly likes to be evaluated. Although a formal evaluation gives an individual the opportunity to display his or her skill and expertise, the fear that most people attach to being evaluated is pervasive. Scriven (1983) referred to this ubiquitous fear of evaluation as "valuephobia." For school principals, much of the valuephobia may relate to the difficulty in finding appropriate means for conducting evaluations for a job that is not amenable to simple characterizations or descriptions. Several related concerns emerge when considering means to evaluate principals, including the nature of principal work, problems with definitional specificity of tasks, the situational nature of the job, the varying expectations for principals, issues related to demands for accountability, demands of the Total Quality Education movement, and the lack of a research base on principal evaluation.

*Principals' Work*

Research on the principalship has yielded different perceptions of the principal's role in the educational organization. Some theorists define the principalship in terms of general job tasks and responsibilities, others in terms of administrative functions, and still others on the basis of behavioral competencies.

Job tasks associated with the principalship generally include the responsibility for managing school programs, pupil personnel, staff personnel, community relations, physical facilities, and student behavior; maintaining district office relations; and coordinating professional development (Gorton & McIntrye, 1978; Pellicer, Anderson, Keefe, Kelly, & McCleary, 1988; Sergiovanni, 1987). Ubben and Hughes (1987) view principals' tasks as two dimensional, requiring effective management and skillful leadership. Morris, Crowson, Porter-Gehrie, and Hurwitz (1984) concluded from their study of the principalship that the principal additionally must oversee the learning process effectively, manage the flood of paperwork, guide staff development, meet student needs, oversee the financial and physical resources of the school, plan and innovate, manage the crises and disruptions of each day, and be everybody's friend.

The National Association of Elementary School Principals (NAESP) took a different approach. In their booklet describing the elementary principalship, the organization listed 31 specific principal responsibilities, including visibility, school improvement, policy development, keeping up-to-date, union negotiation, special program management, serving as a personal confidant, procurement of needed resources, solving problems, and being the school catalyst.

Other theorists define the principalship more broadly, in terms of administrative functions/processes. Four functions are commonly mentioned: planning, organizing, leading, and controlling (Sergiovanni, 1987). Also often mentioned are decision-making, coordinating, communicating, influencing, and evaluation. Dubin (1990), in a study of the perceptions of chief executive officers regarding the role of the principal, found four different functions mentioned: (a) a school superintendent described the principal as being all things to all people—a leader, counselor, benevolent dictator, manager, manipulator, enforcer, motivator, and change agent; (b) a college dean explained that the principal must have the power, the skills, and the knowledge to restructure the context of the school to facilitate learning and that the most critical feature of the principal as a leader is the ability to plan and involve people in the planning process; (c) a university president viewed the principal as a decision maker; and (d) the president of a private company believed that the principal must be a leader.

Sergiovanni (1987) expanded on the concept of the principal as leader to include the principal as: (a) statesperson—primarily concerned with the school's mission, philosophy, values, beliefs, goals, and objectives; (b) educational leader—concerned with the articulation and development of educational programs; (c) supervisory leader—exercised through working with teachers in a manner that facilitates their ability to work more effectively; (d) organizational leader—to make sure that school purposes, objectives, and work requirements are what determine school organization structure; (e) administrative leader—concerned with providing the necessary support systems to facilitate teaching and learning; and (f) team leader—concerned with helping develop mutual support and trust among teachers and between teachers and administrators.

Finally, two organizations have studied the principalship in terms of the behavioral competencies needed for success in the position. The National Association of Secondary School Principals (1990) identified 12 skill dimensions, which include problem analysis, judgment, decisiveness, leadership, sensitivity, educational values, stress tolerance, oral communication, written communication, organizational ability, range of interests, and personal motivation. Coghan, Lake, and Schroder (1983), on behalf of The Florida Council of Education Management, researched competencies that differentiate high-performing principals from average principals. The basic competencies included commitment to school mission, concern for image, tactical adaptability, developmental orientation, delegation, written communication, and organizational sensitivity. The high-performing competencies included proactive orientation, decisiveness, interpersonal search, information search, concept formation, conceptual flexibility, managing interaction, persuasiveness, achievement motivation, management control, organizational ability, and self presentation.

How does all of this relate to principal evaluation? Clearly, whether focusing on job tasks, administrative functions, or behavioral competencies, the nature of the work that principals perform is not standardized, and involves much spontaneity and great individual autonomy. No consensus on what principals can and should do is easily drawn. Most principals would report that each day brings with it many surprises, a need to "expect the unexpected." What researchers have concluded in analyzing what principals do is that their work is unlike that of most typical managers, because each day is strewn with unexpected interruptions, noninstructional needs of teachers, and discipline problems (Goldhammer, 1971; Peterson, 1977; Rallis & Highsmith, 1986; Wolcott, 1973). A principal never knows, for example, when a parent or community member may show up at the school with a complaint, or when a child or teacher may have some sort of crisis. The daily routine, in Martin

and Willower's (1981) terms, is characterized by variety, brevity, and fragmentation. Obviously, no simple format for evaluating personnel is appropriate here.

This point is underscored in an analysis of one principal evaluation system which was designed to account for the difficulty in simply delineating a principal's tasks (Berry & Ginsberg, 1988). Unlike most teacher evaluations systems, which have very specific criteria and standards for observers to record, this system allowed principals to document their activities in a portfolio they assembled against broad pre-set performance standards. But even in a system where principals can accumulate their own data, the difficulty of satisfactorily capturing their work is highlighted by the following synopsis:

I do much more than can be gleaned from the data sources; How do you document, for example, that I resolve conflict?; It falls short of giving a complete picture of your performance and what you do as a principal; So many things you do informally do not lend themselves to documentation; Attitudes cannot be documented. . . . (Berry & Ginsberg, 1988, p. 136)

### *Problems of Specificity*

Not only does the nature of a principal's work make evaluation problematic, even when more specific functions are mandated, much ambiguity remains. The school effectiveness literature emphasizes a number of functions for principals which are extremely difficult to operationalize. Constructs which have emerged such as school climate, high expectations, coordination and organization, and instructional leadership (Koreze, 1984; Shoemaker & Fraser, 1981; Sweeney, 1982) don't easily lend themselves to observation and measurement for evaluation purposes. Thus, these specified significant practices for effective principaling may not be easily captured with traditional methods of evaluation.

The concept of instructional leadership probably best illuminates the dilemma here. The notion of principals serving as instructional leaders is well established in educational circles (Duke, 1987; Greenfield, 1987). But, as Deal (1987) so aptly cautioned in emphasizing "the mythological language around the principalship," (p. 231), the impetus to make principals instructional leaders is hampered by problems concerning an understanding of exactly what it means such leaders should do. Certainly, different behaviors will be appropriate as situations change. As the Southern Regional Education Board (1986) warned, however, "despite some helpful research, it is not clear what the principal must do to

be a leader of instruction" (p. 6). Even Greenfield (1987), the editor of a book on instructional leadership, cautioned that "the concept of instructional leadership provides school administrators and policymakers with few useful insights about the actual nature of leadership in schools" (p. 1).

As a result of the vagueness of the definition of instructional leadership, any attempt at its evaluation is nearly impossible. What does an evaluator look for when examining the evaluatee as an instructional leader? Bossert (1988) underscores this point in suggesting that troubling questions arise when the findings of current research studies are applied as prescriptions for school management. For evaluation purposes, therefore, many of the commonly accepted duties that effective principals should perform are not easily assessed.

### *Situational Leadership*

Another issue related to the dilemma of evaluating principal work is the situational nature of the principal's role. Leadership theory emphasizes that running any organization is both contingent and situational (see, e.g., Hoy & Miskel, 1987). While such theories differ in their emphasis on which situational conditions or contingencies in a school should actually impact on a principal, relating leadership style to operant conditions is clearly a vital part of good leadership. Evaluation of principals must somehow account for differing conditions and differing styles of leadership, implying the need for approaches to evaluation unlike traditional systems utilized in education.

### *Varying Expectations*

Principals must respond to a variety of expectations held by the assorted "publics" they serve. Morris et al. (1984) noted that the principal's role is all too often defined by people outside the principal's office. They describe the principal as being in the middle, answerable to multiple constituencies—students, teachers, parents, and superiors. Each constituency has a well-developed and forcefully asserted view of how the school should be run.

Having numerous and powerful expectations for performance from different sources creates problems for evaluation. Effectively managed organizations usually have written job descriptions or policy statements from a governing board embodying the formal expectations of the organization (Gorton & Schneider, 1991). In addition, however, they note that in every organization there are usually implicit, frequently unexpressed expectations for administrators' behavior. Together, both sets of expecta-

tions comprise a behavioral definition of the role which different individuals or groups—both formal and informal—believe administrators should perform in a particular situation. These expectations define for the administrator what he should or should not do (Getzels, cited in Gorton & Schneider, 1991).

For principal evaluation to be useful, principals must be knowledgeable about the expectations held by various reference groups. These groups include students, teachers, parents, and others who may be associated with the school (other members of the staff, other administrative personnel in the school, clerical and maintenance staff, the superintendent, central office administrative/supervisory staff, the school board, administrators in other schools, parents' organizations, social/labor/business organizations, state department of public instruction, professional organizations, and accreditation agencies).

Because of the type and nature of contact between principals and these individuals and groups, it is essential for effective evaluation that role expectations be explicit. But such expectations may not always be compatible. Gorton and Schneider (1991) describe certain of these expectations as follows:

*Students expect the principal to create and maintain a safe and orderly environment; enhance student self-esteem, sense of responsibility, and ability to get along with others; help students grow academically; be highly visible; know what is going on in the school; be interested in what students are doing; counsel and mediate (i.e., listen to their ideas and evaluate that information before meting out punishment); be nice and caring; and praise and compliment. The National Study of School Evaluation described students' most prevalent concern regarding administrators as an uncertainty that administrators were interested in them as individuals.*

*Teachers expect principals to support them on issues and problems of student discipline; to treat them as professional colleagues with different but equal roles, rather than as subordinates in a bureaucratic relationship; to provide meaningful opportunities for teachers to participate in school decision-making which should include a significant role for teachers in the making of final decisions about those activities directly affecting them; and to assist them in attaining the instructional skills and curricular materials necessary to teach effectively including time necessary to fulfill their roles (to meet with colleagues, to share ideas, to visit each other, and to reduce the isolation).*

*Parents expect (as expressed by PTA officers) that the principal will initiate improvements in teaching techniques and methods, make*

certain that curricula fit the needs of students, direct teachers to motivate students to learn at their optimal levels, afford teachers the opportunity to individualize programs, direct teachers to coordinate and articulate the subject matter taught on each grade level, work with parent groups and interact with parents on an individual basis, and work with and show concern for children.

*Supervisors expect that principals will lead forcefully, initiate action, accomplish organizational goals, emulate the nomothetic behavior of their superiors (i.e., pay greater attention to the expectations of the organization for which they work than to their own personal needs or the personal needs of others with whom they may be associated at the building level), define the school's mission, manage the instructional program, and promote a positive school learning climate. (pp. 94-101)*

Concerning the variety of expectations, the dilemma for principal evaluation relates to the need to have them considered, while the variety of sources of expectations creates often competing demands. Whose expectations should the evaluation system emphasize? How are the expectations to be included in the process of evaluating principals?

#### *Demands of Accountability*

The movement for school accountability developed in the late 1960s from widespread dissatisfaction with the quality of education students received in the schools. Until the latter 1970s, the primary thrust in the movement was directed at getting teachers and administrators to accept greater responsibility for improving the education of students. More recently, the issue has broadened to include a greater stress on students' and parents' responsibility for educational outcomes (Gorton & Schneider, 1991).

The basic issue in this area concerning evaluation is who is accountable for what and to whom. Gorton and Schneider (1987) propose that accountability for student learning should be shared by teachers and administrators, students, parents, governmental agencies, and the general public. They also offer specific areas of accountability for principals:

1. Identifying and clearly defining, with the help of others, the educational objectives of the school.
2. Specifying which teaching, supervisory, or administrative procedures and resources are needed to achieve those objectives.
3. Developing and implementing a plan for evaluating the extent of progress or achievement of the school's objectives.
4. Informing the school board and the community periodically about

the degree to which objectives have been achieved, and the reasons for problems, if they occur. (p. 47)

Certainly, principals should be held accountable for achieving objectives. But objectives such as these are difficult to assess in a timely fashion in order to satisfy those demanding accountability in performance.

### *Total Quality Education*

The newest trend moving across the United States is the utilization of the total quality management philosophy, based on the work of W. Edwards Deming (1986), Joseph M. Juran (1988), and Philip B. Crosby (1979) that has contributed to Japan's phenomenal industrial success and dramatic improvements at several U.S. companies. The philosophy is now being applied in educational organizations with considerable success. This philosophy encourages school administrators to (a) look at the organization from a systems perspective, (b) use statistical methods to monitor the progress of the system, and (c) provide the leadership needed to create an environment that will foster high excitement and energy toward never-ending improvements in the quality and productivity of the schools (Leonard, 1991).

Under the systems perspective, special attention is paid to the needs of the customer. According to Scherr and Lozier (1991), successful industries recognize that the most important part of any organization is the customer and that to capture and hold customers you must satisfy their needs. Satisfying the customer requires knowing who the customer is. Scherr and Lozier (1991) note the importance of recognizing that everyone in the organization is both a supplier and a customer. As a supplier, individuals serve both internal and external customers. In terms of evaluation, knowing the customer makes it feasible to measure performance against stated purposes. For principals, the Total Quality Education movement implies a need for focusing evaluation on customer needs, but as already emphasized in discussing expectations, such needs may be very numerous and even competing.

### *Lack of a Research Base*

A number of researchers have lamented the fact that little research has actually studied principal evaluation practices (Murphy, Hallinger, & Peterson, 1985; Natriello, Deal, Dornbusch, & Hong, 1977; Rentsch, 1976). Duke and Stiggins (1985) succinctly reported that "since little research has been conducted on the actual procedures used to evaluate

and supervise school principals, little is known about the nature, role, or quality of those procedures" (p. 71). In a comprehensive review of the literature related to principal evaluation, Ginsberg and Berry (1990) found a wide array of practices reported with little systematic research to support one approach over another. Specifically, five categories of sources were identified:

1. Home recipes—*instruments, methods, and opinions presented in the literature with minimal empirical support for any of the approaches offered.*
2. Literature reviews—a number of reviews which all derived the theme that little analysis or research on principal evaluation exists.
3. Guidelines and textbooks—published guides for practitioners, though no research-based evidence was found to substantiate any particular approach.
4. Surveys of practices—*much of the research involved self-report surveys on practices in various school districts and states. The review concluded that many of these surveys were flawed methodologically, though the state of current practices was documented.*
5. Research and evaluation studies—*investigations examining specific instruments, control of principals, practices in effective districts, and various aspects of principal evaluation were found to suggest ways to improve principal evaluation, and implied the need for further research.*

The state of research on principal evaluation emphasizes the lack of empirically supported information about best practices. This knowledge base, described in one source as being in the stone age of development (Natriello et al., 1977), presents a dilemma for those seeking an appropriate means for evaluating principals.

In summary, a number of dilemmas surface when considering means for evaluating school principals. The nature of the work principals perform is difficult to specify for traditional evaluation schemes. Principal work is situational and they face a myriad of expectations, and such work does not lend itself to standardized evaluation practices. Demands for accountability and movements like Total Quality Education raise the difficult issues of identifying appropriate objectives for principal evaluation. And the lack of a research base leaves the field short on empirically-supported solutions for solving principal evaluation problems. In short, given the problems confronting the field of principal evaluation, selecting an appropriate method is difficult. In the next section we offer a means for evaluating principals drawn from the field of program evaluation, which addresses many of the dilemmas raised.

### Consumer-Oriented Outcomes-Based Principal Evaluation

Currently, a wide array of methods are employed in school districts to evaluate principals. Ginsberg and Berry (1990) found that preset performance standards are the most common means for assessing performance, with behavioral criteria that use observational rating scales. Given the dilemmas identified concerning principal evaluation, such schemes pose several problems. Preset standards ignore the situational nature and myriad of expectations of the job. And such systems probably utilize low inference criteria that are most amenable to observational rating scales. Thus, with an oversimplification of complex tasks, the actual nature of principal work may not be captured by such approaches.

All evaluation systems must predetermine the kinds of criteria to be utilized. In any kind of personnel evaluation, this means focusing on processes or behaviors (P), personal traits (T), or outcomes or products (O). Many evaluation approaches use some combination of these criteria, though process-oriented approaches dominate in the field of education. For example, in a study of 32 districts' teacher evaluation systems, Wise, Darling-Hammond, McLaughlin, and Bernstein (1984) found that five broad criteria dominated the evaluation efforts: teaching procedures (P), classroom management (P), knowledge of subject matter (P), professional responsibility (P), and personal characteristics (T). They also found that multiple classroom observations were the most common means for collecting teacher evaluation data.

Debates concerning the most appropriate kinds of criteria to use in evaluation have existed since the field itself emerged. In program evaluation, for example, the process (why a given outcome is produced) versus product (demonstration of a program's effects) debate has been ongoing for years (Judd, 1987). In terms of principal evaluation, decisions concerning the kinds of criteria to employ should be guided by the dilemmas facing the field. Given the nature of principal work, the problems of specificity of tasks and the situational nature of the job, it is difficult to specify what processes or behaviors all principals should pursue beyond very broad areas like sound decision making and judgment. How would such behaviors be observed or documented? Even the research on leadership has shown the difficulty in pinpointing specific traits and behaviors related to leader effectiveness (Hoy & Miskel, 1987). And given the many expectations and demands for accountability that principals face, typical approaches for evaluating educational personnel are simply not applicable for principals.

A more practical means for evaluating principals must consider the

inherent problems and issues previously identified. Some school districts and states do get away from observational rating systems and utilize preset performance objectives, job targets, or some form of management-by-objectives (MBO) to evaluate principals (Ginsberg & Berry, 1990). But even these approaches do not fully capture the complexity and dynamic nature of a principal's work day and year (Berry & Ginsberg, 1988). Evaluating principals requires a more thorough and experientially grounded approach. Drawing from methods used by program evaluators (an idea others have recommended, see Willeke & Reineke, 1988), we suggest development of a consumer-oriented outcomes-based (CO-OB) plan. Such an approach would combine process and product evaluation into a single model (Judd, 1987). We envision several components.

First, the evaluation of principals need not be based on preset standardized goals but instead should be outcome based. Patton (1986), for example, in developing his utilization-focused evaluation model, argues that program evaluation should focus on use or utility of the evaluation. Similarly, Scriven's (1972) goal-free evaluation is characterized by focusing on actual outcomes rather than intended or stated goals. In each instance, the emphasis on specific outcomes of a program is considered most significant, rather than determining how well preconceived goals, standards, targets, or behaviors were met.

For principal evaluation, this offers several advantages. Since specific behaviors or processes for principals are difficult to specify, focusing on outcomes avoids the quagmire of having to produce a checklist of behaviors or a predetermined set of objectives which circumstances may make irrelevant for a particular principal. In addition, an outcomes orientation limits the bias of systems where principals themselves or higher level administrators set out what they hope should be accomplished, which may not relate to the needs of the organization. Certainly principals need to be informed of expectations held for them, but the core of their evaluation should be what they do during the course of the school year. Effective principals, then, can determine consumers' needs during the year and be judged as to how well they meet the myriad of expectations.

Second, principal evaluation should be consumer oriented. The Total Quality Management philosophy highlighted the importance of keying in on the needs of school consumers. Given the various expectations and numerous demands for accountability principals face, basing evaluation on consumer wishes makes sense. Support for such an orientation again comes from the field of program evaluation. Scriven has written extensively about what he calls consumer-oriented or product evaluation (Scriven, 1981, 1983; Worthen & Sanders, 1987). Much like the product

evaluations performed by journals like *Consumer Reports*, such evaluations never consider anything but how well the product works for consumers. Similarly, Patton's (1986) utilization-focused evaluation is based on the assumption that evaluation should be user-oriented, aimed at the interests and needs of identifiable people.

In practical terms, the consumers that principals should respond to would include teachers, students, parents, higher level administrators, board members, and perhaps other staff and community members. Teachers and students, for example, interact with the principal on a daily basis. They are the ones most directly affected by the principal and therefore should be key contributors to any evaluation of performance. Such individuals, through surveys, narratives, interviews or other means should provide evaluative information concerning both processes utilized and outcomes.

The actual process for the conduct of such a consumer-oriented outcomes-based principal evaluation could take several forms and needs some testing to develop empirical support. Certainly, there must be some specification of who customers are and an effort made to determine their needs and expectations. In addition, there must be some means for determining whether or not the principal has satisfied the needs of the customers or has achieved what was expected of him or her. Also, some method for translating all the information into a summary evaluation document will be required.

Ideally, principals would begin with an understanding of the broad goals as specified by the district, as well as agreed-upon functions or dimensions of performance such as those identified by Sergiovanni (1987) or the NASSP. Most significantly, principals should interact with both supervisors and consumers to identify key needs for the school to be addressed. These needs, along with several personal goals identified by each principal, should form the basis for what the principal actually does during the school year. Then, principals should be given the opportunity to document all accomplishments—in terms of the goals, functions, dimensions, and other achievements—during the evaluation cycle (e.g., each year, every other year, etc.). Rather than requiring a time consuming portfolio or logging process, these outcomes could be presented in a simple written format or discussed with supervisors and consumers.

Data on the processes utilized by the principal and accomplishments reached during the evaluation cycle should also be drawn from the consumers. Student, parent, and teacher surveys or interviews conducted by supervisors could form the basis for such data collection. The key would be to get consumer input concerning principal performance

relative to actual leadership behaviors as well as performance outcomes. The district may also choose to evaluate other potential data sources such as test results, drop-out and attendance rates, promotion-retention information, discipline records, fiscal management, or communications.

Whatever the final design for the CO-OB principal evaluation process, it offers distinct advantages over other principal evaluation methods. It would lead to a more individualized approach to principal evaluation since the exact criteria for assessment are different for each principal depending on conditions in the school and community as well as the needs and expectations of the relevant consumers. Also, it responds to the dilemmas created by the nature of principal work, difficulty of specifying actual on-the-job behaviors, and situational nature of principal leadership by taking an outcomes orientation. Yet processes are not ignored. As the consumers, those directly affected by principal behaviors are able to assess performance. The CO-OB approach allows for the varied expectations and many demands of accountability by giving consumers direct input into the evaluation process.

### **Evaluating Outcomes-Based Consumer-Oriented Principal Evaluation**

This proposal for an outcomes-based consumer-oriented approach to principal evaluation is simply that—an untested set of ideas. Thus, although it is derived from well-respected models in the field of program evaluation, it shares the prevalent dilemma of other principal evaluation practices of lacking empirical support. Nonetheless, the proposal itself may still be evaluated utilizing standards accepted by both program and personnel evaluators. Specifically, program evaluation is guided by the *Standards for Evaluations of Educational Programs, Projects, and Materials* (Joint Committee on Standards for Educational Evaluation, 1980). These include 30 standards grouped into four functional categories: utility, feasibility, propriety, and accuracy. In personnel evaluation, while no set of collective standards has been derived by any group, Wise et al. (1984) suggested relevant and related criteria for evaluating teaching evaluation systems, namely validity, reliability, and utility. Combining such standards for purposes of evaluating the CO-OB proposal suggests four common standards: utility or usefulness, accuracy including validity and reliability, feasibility or practicality, and propriety or ethical considerations.

In terms of utility, principal evaluation should make principals better at what they do. It should also assist the higher level decision makers in the system to make better decisions concerning the principals with whom they work. Given the outcomes and consumer focus in the CO-OB

proposal, principals should get information to help guide their behavior, while decision makers should get useful information on principal effectiveness.

Concerning accuracy, the CO-OB plan will need to be tested. However, since actual principal behavior will be assessed by consumers, the system has face validity. Given the variety of data sources, reliability should also be high. A typical problem in observational approaches to teacher evaluation, where evaluatees "showcase" in front of evaluators to meet preset standards (Berry & Ginsberg, 1988), will not be an issue in this system.

The feasibility of the CO-OB plan should be high. Unlike many personnel evaluation systems, CO-OB evaluation does *not* take principals away from the tasks they are being evaluated on. In other words, they do not have to perform for an evaluator, but instead are judged on what they do by those they serve. The system has a high degree of feasibility.

Finally, concerning propriety, the approach should meet any legal requirements and is ethically sound because it allows principals to be evaluated on their everyday actions by those who are most directly affected by their behavior. Principals are not taken away from their job and are judged on actual evidence collected in their school.

### Conclusion

Principal evaluation is just beginning to get the attention it deserves. Principals are key figures in a school, and their job requires a special form to be accurately and fairly evaluated. Significant problems are inherent in devising appropriate means for conducting principal evaluation. By borrowing from methods in program evaluation, the idea of focusing on consumer needs and performance outcomes addresses many of these problems and dilemmas. Ultimately, the goal of any principal evaluation scheme should be to help principals—those identified as the key for school success—to do their jobs better. Taking a consumer-oriented and outcomes-based approach should serve this primary need.

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# Empirical Linkages Among Principal Behaviors and Intermediate Outcomes: Implications for Principal Evaluation

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## Abstract

This article examines the causal relationships among principal behaviors, school organizational processes, and intermediate outcomes in the school context. Hoy and Miskel's (1987) adaptation of Parsons' (1960, 1961) four organizational functions for schools and Pitner's (1988) causal model for principal effects provided the theoretical framework. Multiple intermediate outcomes were employed to determine school and principal effectiveness. Teachers, students, and parents from 30 schools were surveyed and provided data for 24 variables in a nonexperimental, empirical study. Hypothesized causal models of four blocks of variables—school context; principal behaviors; school functions; and teacher, parent, and student outcomes—were investigated by path analysis. This analysis yielded significant paths in 18 trimmed models and indicated that principals have significant direct effects on teacher outcomes of morale, job satisfaction, commitment, and teacher perception of innovation, and low indirect effects on student sense of academic futility and acceptance of school norms and parent satisfaction. Teacher perceptions of the four school processes provided three significant paths

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to outcomes, whereas parent perceptions of the processes provided eight significant paths. Parents provided more causal links to student outcomes from school processes than did teachers. School contexts of organizational level and SES had significant effects on student and parent variables. The findings indicated the appropriateness of the theoretical model as a means to evaluate principal and school effectiveness. Principals can be evaluated directly in terms of their effects on teachers but only indirectly for their effects on students and parents.

### Introduction

Recently there has been a resurgence of public concern about the effectiveness of schools and a renewed appreciation of the important role principals play in the educational process. This attention has been matched by research on principals' behavior (see Boyan, 1988, for a comprehensive review), school effectiveness (see Levine & Lezotte, 1990), and popular work outside education focusing on leadership and organizational excellence in general (Peters & Austin, 1985; Peters & Waterman, 1982). Concurrent with this interest in describing characteristics of effective schools, there has been an increased interest in administrator evaluation. For instance, between 1974 and 1984, the number of states that mandated formal evaluation of administrators increased from 9 to 27. Similarly, the number of school systems reporting that formal evaluation procedures existed within their districts increased from 39.5% in 1968 to 85.9% in 1984 (ERS, 1985).

Unfortunately, although the frequency of administrative evaluations has increased markedly, the quality of the assessments does not appear to have substantially improved (Marcoulides, 1990; Marcoulides & Heck, 1992). They often assess trivial principal behaviors employing methods and instruments that frequently lack even the rudiments of sound practice. Problems with existing instruments and processes for evaluating principals typically fall into two categories—technical and conceptual. Technical problems are frequently described in terms of reliability and validity benchmarks, including:

- over-reliance on the supervisor as the sole source of input (concurrent validity),
- reliance on opinion data gathered from individuals who are not in a good position to observe the principal's behaviors or whose discrimination skills are not sufficiently developed to produce reliable or valid results (discriminate validity),
- reliance on generic rating scales that have poorly defined criteria for those ratings (criterion-related validity),

- failure to incorporate a substantial body of knowledge regarding effective administrative practice into existing instruments (content validity),
- failure to collect evaluative information from clients of the school (ecological validity),
- failure to design separate instruments for summative or formative evaluations and frequent use of instruments for purposes for which they were not designed (content validity), and
- failure to establish reliability across raters and over time (internal reliability).

Conceptual problems with existing principal evaluation instruments are often linked directly to the conflicting definitions of the purpose of schools. This frequently translates into vague principals' job descriptions and ambiguous definitions of effectiveness (often situationally determined). For example, Duke (1992) suggests that effectiveness might be defined in terms of personal traits, the quantitative number of administrative tasks demonstrated, the qualitative demonstration of competence, or the achievement of more school outcomes than comparative groups of principals. As a result, defining principal effectiveness upon which an evaluation instrument can be constructed has been difficult—constituent groups value different outcomes.

Not only is there some degree of goal conflict inherent in all school systems, but the proper methods of achieving these goals (when defined) and the expected roles the principal is to play are often in dispute. For example, suppose that achievement on standardized tests is an officially sanctioned goal. Higher performance could be attained through extending the amount of time devoted to the tested subjects or reducing classroom interruptions due to extracurricular activities. However, agreement might be hard to obtain among many competing alternatives possible to achieve this goal. In the former case it would mean less time for non-tested subject content, which would upset teachers of those subjects, while in the latter case it might cause a hardship for teams that have regional and state competitions during the school day—a decision sure to anger the coaches and the sports community. Selection of every school goal and supporting principal action involves a compromise and inevitably reduces options in other areas. (See Bolman & Deal, 1991, for an extended discussion of the symbolic, structural, political, and human resources leadership roles of principals.) These choices among competing goals and principal actions will invariably cause some groups to raise or lower their opinions concerning the principal's effectiveness.

In addition, even if goal consensus could be achieved and the principal behaviors that lead to these goals isolated, the mechanisms that

link differing principal and staff actions with the contextual variables to produce results are poorly understood and more complex than originally thought (Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan, & Lee, 1982; Hallinger & Murphy, 1987; Marcoulides & Heck, 1992). As Marcoulides and Heck (1992) point out, one of the major reasons for this dearth of knowledge, even in areas where there is reasonable consensus about the goals of the school, is a lack of theoretically-driven empirical research to establish and validate the appropriate domains of the principal behaviors and their collective effects on school outcomes.

The purpose of this study is threefold. First, a general definition of effectiveness is proposed based on the work of Parsons (1960), Hoy and Miskel (1987), and others that serves as a framework for the investigation of principal behaviors and their effects on organizational outcomes. Second, this model is tested and tentative pathways are proposed using data collected from 30 schools. Third, the findings from the path analytic work are discussed within a framework of principal evaluation and accountability.

### Definition of Effectiveness

The extent to which a school is achieving its intended outcome goals has traditionally been accepted as the yardstick for measuring school effectiveness. Typically, these outcomes have been defined by policy-makers and the press as the various scales on standardized tests or college entrance examinations, such as the SAT or ACT. Parents often use other criteria to evaluate schools such as their child's interest in school, the extent to which he or she has friends in school, the feeling of trust in the school's teachers, the feeling of community that the school engenders, or the success of the athletic teams. Teachers, community patrons, the classified staff, the mayor, the taxpayers' league, and so on, use still other measures to evaluate the school's effectiveness and, indirectly, the quality of its leadership. Indeed, not only do individuals differentially value common organizational processes, but as Bolman and Deal (1991) point out, they may view the school through entirely different frames of reference (symbolic, political, human resources, and structural). For example, teachers may value high building morale as viewed through a human resource frame of reference, while the business community may focus on student academic achievement assuming the school works much like a factory (structural frame of reference).

From a review of the extant literature and the above discussion, it is reasonably clear that school or principal effectiveness is bound to the defining criteria. For example, the "effective schools" literature charac-

terizes effectiveness as residual gain on standardized test scores, while others may favor schools known for their positive socializing effect on children (Cuban, 1983; Glickman, 1987). Equally clear is that effectiveness is not unidimensional but rather a complex construct that is dependent on the criteria used, which may be independent of one another and, indeed, may be mutually exclusive. The importance of a guiding theoretical model or framework is, therefore, paramount to understanding and developing criteria around which principal evaluation instruments can be constructed. To resolve this dilemma, major models that characterize organizational effectiveness were examined (Bossert et al., 1982; Duckworth, 1983; Ellett & Walberg, 1979; Hoy & Miskel, 1987; Parsons, 1960; Pitner, 1988; Yukl, 1982), and a revised version of the Hoy and Miskel framework with major input from the Pitner and Parsons model was constructed. Figure 1 presents an overview of this model to help visualize the multiple contributors to school and principal effectiveness.

#### *Presage Contextual Variables*

The presage factors on the left side of Figure 1 represent characteristics and predispositions of members of the school's community. Although they are mostly beyond the control of the school, they do heavily influence the school's operations, and the degree to which the school understands and accommodates these contextual variables strongly influences its probability of attaining its stated goals. They are descriptive of teachers', principals', and students' entering characteristics (experience, age, education, family background, gender, beliefs, etc.), plus contextual factors descriptive of the school itself.

#### *School and Principal Process Variables*

The two blocks of variables in the middle of Figure 1 are modifications of Parsons' (1960, 1961) original conceptions of organizational processes (maintenance, integration, goal attainment, and adaptation). The top block represents principal behaviors that influence these four processes while the lower block represents these processes within the school. The school processes are influenced by both presage variables and principal process behaviors; they are linked to the intermediate outcome variables and ultimately to the social and academic development of students as illustrated in Figure 1. In essence, these two blocks of variables are descriptive of how well the school (or principal) interfaces with the external community, maintains a sense of school culture and expecta-

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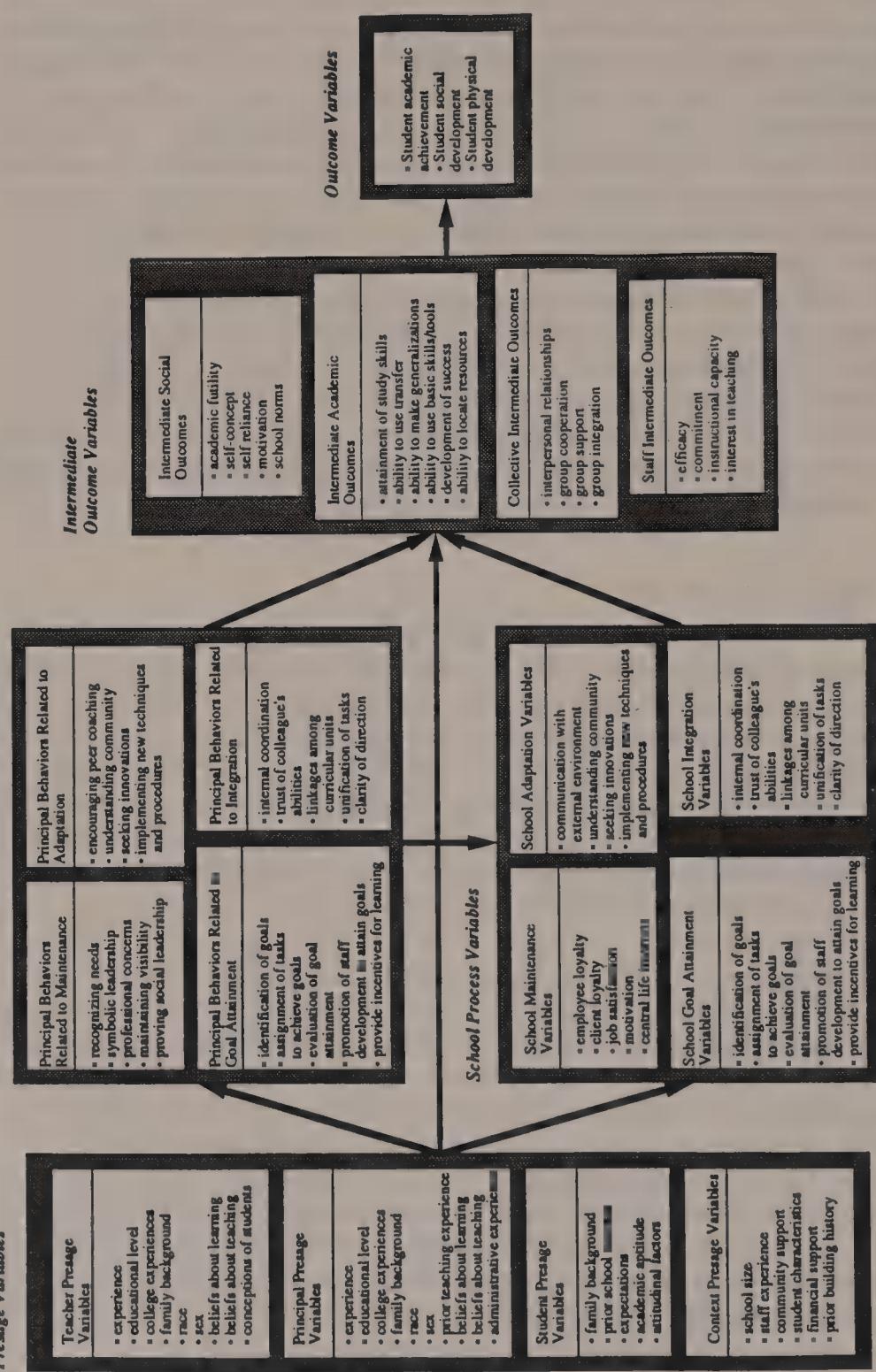


Figure 1. Proposed model of school effectiveness.

tions, works as a coordinated and well-organized unit, is able to set and attain stated goals, and to what extent the principal promotes or facilitates these activities. Specific definitions of these constructs follow.

*Adaptation.* This construct is defined as the school's ability to understand and accommodate successfully to the external environment. The extent to which the school does or does not offer programs that are consistent with community norms and expectations is often directly related to difficulty or success in sustaining interest in and support of the school. The recent troubles in the auto industry are a classic case of the failure of an organization to demonstrate good adaptation capacity. Where once the United States was the dominate producer, because of our lack of sensitivity to consumer desires for smaller, more fuel-efficient cars, American auto makers lost a substantial share of the market and now represent only one of many sources of automobiles. In a similar fashion, schools and school districts can lose the support and respect of the community if they are not cognizant of the expectations and desires of their community clients. To adapt successfully to changing environments and compete with others for community interest and resources, effective schools must fuse bureaucratic expectations and sublimate individual needs and wishes in a way that produces a more powerful influence than the simple additive power of each entity. Schools must maintain a certain amount of harmony to deal effectively with environmental pressures and possess sensitive monitoring mechanisms that provide reliable and timely information concerning the external environment. Adaptation is also defined in terms of the school's ability to keep abreast of new instructional methods and to constantly survey available resources for new curricular material. Planned and meaningful staff development activities that focus on keeping the staff abreast would also be a good indication of a school poised to take advantage of any potential opportunity.

*Goal attainment.* The definition of this construct includes the ability of the school to define objectives, mobilize resources, and achieve desired ends. Unlike the adaptation dimension, goal attainment is widely recognized as an important measure of effectiveness as is evidenced by the millions of dollars spent every year on standardized achievement tests. Indeed, four of the five "effective school" correlates (goal consensus, strong instructional leadership, close monitoring of the instructional program, and high expectations of student achievement) proposed by Edmonds and associates (1979) are subcomponents of the goal attainment dimension. Typically, goal attainment is defined through productivity, resource acquisition, efficiency, quantity, and quality standards. Hallinger and Murphy's (1985) instrument, which is designed to mea-

sure principal instructional management in 10 areas (frame the school goals, communicate the school goals, supervise and evaluate instruction, coordinate the curriculum, monitor student progress, protect instructional time, maintain high visibility, provide incentives for teachers, promote professional development, and provide incentives for learning) is a measurement device typical of those designed to assess the goal attainment dimension. In addition to processes that might lead to goal attainment, such as establishment of quality control or resource allocation systems, actual outcomes typically defined in student terms are also important dimensions of school effectiveness as operationalized through goal attainment. The most common is academic achievement. However, student affective outcomes such as student self-concept also play critical roles. For example, Brookover, Beady, Flood, Schweitzer, and Wisenbacher (1979) found that student measures such as academic norms, academic futility, future expectations, present expectations, and teacher expectations were intertwined with overall school climate and accounted for a significant amount of variance in student academic achievement.

*Integration.* Integration as a construct is defined as the ability of the school to organize, coordinate, and unify the various school tasks necessary for achievement. This attribute of effective schools is the extent to which the component subsystems and/or people trust the competence of each other and work together in a coordinated fashion. From a larger perspective, this includes both an integration within and between the various school component groups. In many respects the integration component is related to the conception of "coupling" that has gained considerable attention within the study of informal organizations during the past 20 years (Bidwell, 1965; Meyer & Rowan, 1978; Weich, 1976). In this sense, the integration (or coupling) construct as it applies to schools typically refers to a pattern of organizational and interpersonal mechanisms that serves to link the various human subcomponents of the school. When coupling is "loose" or trust and respect are absent, the result is often that the staff and students are exposed to repetition (because the staff doesn't believe the material was adequately taught in the previous courses or the principal generates an excessive number of rules to insure compliance), significant gaps or overlaps occur in the curriculum (because few people are aware of what is taught at the other levels), and a developmental sequence that capitalizes on prior learning is absent. Other indirect measures of integration are the extent of cohesion-conflict among and between different school groups. As conflict arises, coordination of the educational program and social development is curtailed and inefficiency is promulgated. Integration is also a measure of the degree to which the school has a common sense of

purpose or vision and the degree to which the students, staff, and community share that vision of themselves; can describe their individual role in the larger plan; and feel that they play an important role in the organization. Conversely, schools that evidence and exhibit excessive repetition and duplication, conflict, and lack of intraorganizational communication, would be considered low in integration.

*Maintenance.* This construct is defined as the school's ability to create and maintain the school's motivational and value structure. For an organization to function effectively over an extended period, there must be a certain sense of client and employee loyalty to the organization, its goals, and culture. Often these values are defined as job satisfaction, staff motivation, job commitment, and central life interest, and are sometimes included under the generic label "climate." They are typically examined through expectancy theory comparing reward value, reward probability, and level of effort (Vroom, 1964); job-characteristics models comparing skill variety, task identity, and task significance (Hackman & Oldham, 1980); discrepancy hypotheses comparing individual motivation with organizational incentives (Smith, Kendall, & Hulin, 1969); inducements-contributions theory which examines what is offered versus contributed (March & Simon, 1958); and, dissonance theory comparing employees' expectations with actual experience (Festinger, 1957). Schools characterized as high on this dimension could be described as having committed, dedicated staffs who (a) are interested in their work (as defined by the school's value system), (b) are protective of their school, and (c) identify with its norms. It does not necessarily follow that these individuals are good employees (see Locke, 1976), only that they hold values similar to those of the school and often see their role then as being an integral part of who they are as individuals. This latter concept is often referenced as a central life interest and simply means that an employee invests a large share of time, commitment, and energy toward the school in relation to the competing life activities.

### *Intermediate Outcomes*

The third set of variables included in Figure 1 represents intermediate outcomes that provide the foundation for lasting student and staff changes in behavior. These constructs are often recognized by educators and the public as important, but are rarely explicitly taught, included in curriculum guides, or measured in school assessment efforts. As can be observed from Figure 1, this set of variables is divided into four divisions—individual student social outcomes, individual student academic outcomes, individual teacher outcomes, and collective group

outcomes. Individual student social outcomes represent a student's beliefs and feelings toward the education process and, indirectly, toward themselves. These have developed as a result of the interaction of the schooling processes (maintenance, goal attainment, integration, and adaptation) and the presage background variables. Typical examples would be student self-concept, student sense of academic futility or the connection between hard work and personal gain, student motivation for school, and student self-reliance to solve academic problems. Importantly, many of these variables have been found to have a profound influence on subsequent performance on academic tests (Brookover et al., 1979).

Student intermediate academic outcome variables are also representative of important dimensions of school effectiveness. Typical examples might be the attainment of study skills; the ability to use the concepts of transfer and generalizations when learning new academic content; the acquisition of basic skills necessary for proficiency in all subject areas such as reading, computation, reference location, logic, and organization; and the development of prior successes on academic tasks that are important for student motivation. Although these intermediate outcomes are important for future academic success, they are rarely taught in a direct manner but rather assumed to have been included in the curriculum of all courses. Interest in student attainment of these intermediate outcomes waned in the 1970-1980s with the heavy emphasis on basic skill development in reading, mathematics, science, social studies, and writing. Recently however, testing companies and some national curriculum projects, such as the new National Council of Teachers of Mathematics math standards (1989), have begun to recognize the importance of conceptual understanding and generic learning strategies applicable to all content fields. As a result, they have begun to reemphasize the importance of these intermediate academic outcomes in their curriculum guides, and the content of many standardized tests now includes subscales focusing on reference, problem solving, and higher level abstraction skills. Much work in this area still needs to be done, but the recognition of the essential nature these variables play in student mastery of academic content seems to be gaining importance.

The third set of intermediate outcomes focuses on the professional staff of the school and the influences which the schooling processes and presage characteristics have on their behavior and beliefs. One of the most essential is the extent to which the variables influence the instructional strategies and curriculum selected for use in the actual classroom. Clearly, an important predictor of student learning is the quality of the instruction they receive and the content studied. This category also is

concerned with the effect the schooling process is having on the belief system of the staff. Teachers' belief systems (efficacy, commitment, morale, instructional openness, etc.) can influence their willingness to try new ideas, be open to improvement suggestions, work with colleagues, be reflective about their teaching, stay in the education profession and a host of other factors important for the organizational health of the school (McNeil, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c; Rosenholtz, 1989). The principal is also affected in ways similar to the teachers. Indeed, there is some evidence that the school process variables work in such a way that the longer the principal remains in a given building, the less independent leadership is exhibited, and the more the principal becomes a building manager (Bridges, 1965).

The last set of intermediate outcome variables focuses on the collaborative group outcomes. These would include group interpersonal relationships, group cooperation efforts, group support of individual teachers or students, the extent of student and teacher integration into the social system of the school, and the cooperative efforts fostered between the home and school. Schools rarely make specific efforts to build these interpersonal skills, yet society depends upon cooperation and mutual respect among its citizens for its existence. Schools often assume that structural arrangements—such as putting children who belong to different racial groups in the same classroom—will automatically result in greater racial appreciation, understanding, and cooperation. Often, however, the same sets of racially segregated groups that were present before the integration attempts remain in effect and little true integration occurs.

### *Outcome Variables*

The variables on the far right hand side of Figure 1 represent outcome variables that are typically associated with school effectiveness: student academic, social, and physical development. As shown in Figure 1, a school's effectiveness can be conceived in terms of organizational achievement of desired outcomes and the degree to which the organization can maintain itself through effectively managing the organizational processes. The degrees of change in organizational processes of adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and maintenance within the context of the presage or entering variables are the primary indicators that can be used in assessing the effectiveness of the school. Within the context of this model, principal effectiveness might be thought of as the extent to which the principal can lead or facilitate this process.

### Testing the Proposed Model

Although it is interesting to analyze possible linkages among the variables suggested from an integration of numerous theoretical models, before principal evaluation instruments can be constructed based on the hypothesized models, it is important to establish some empirical linkages among the various concepts. If linkages among the variables in the models cannot be confirmed, then the use of these models and variables to measure and define principal effectiveness is problematic. This section of the article describes the results of the investigation of the linkages inherent in this model.

#### *Variables Included in the Study*

To pare the model down to a manageable size, variables were selected for inclusion on the basis of prior evidence of connectivity and ease of data collection. The presage, principal organizational behaviors, school organizational functions, and outcome variables provided the framework as illustrated in Figure 1. There were a total of 24 variables (see Figure 2) included in the study that were defined and measured through teachers, parents, and students, who responded to various survey instruments. (See Snyder, 1991, for a detailed description of the model paring process, the data collection strategies, and the instruments.)

The context variables in this study were narrowed to two—school level and socioeconomic status (SES)—primarily due to prior reviews that indicated the importance of school level (elementary, middle or junior high, and high school) on principal behaviors, school operations, and outcomes (Farrar, Neufeld, & Miles, 1984; Firestone & Herriott, 1982; Hallinger & Murphy, 1987; Purkey & Smith, 1983; Rowan, Bossert, & Dwyer, 1983). In addition, since the Coleman Report (Coleman et al., 1966) determined that SES explained significant variance in student outcomes, and has regularly been included in studies of effective schools (Brookover et al., 1979; Glasman & Biniaminov, 1981; Hoy, Tarter, & Bliss, 1990; Rosenholtz, 1989; Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Ouston, & Smith, 1979), it was also selected for inclusion in the study.

As previously discussed, the study of organizations as social systems provided the theoretical basis for the formulation of the school process variables. Four constructs, formulated by Talcott Parsons (1960, 1961), as applied to schools (Derczo, 1987; Horner, 1984; Hoy & Ferguson, 1985; Hoy & Miskel, 1987) formed the core variables for this second block—adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and maintenance (Hill, 1982; Hoy & Miskel, 1987).

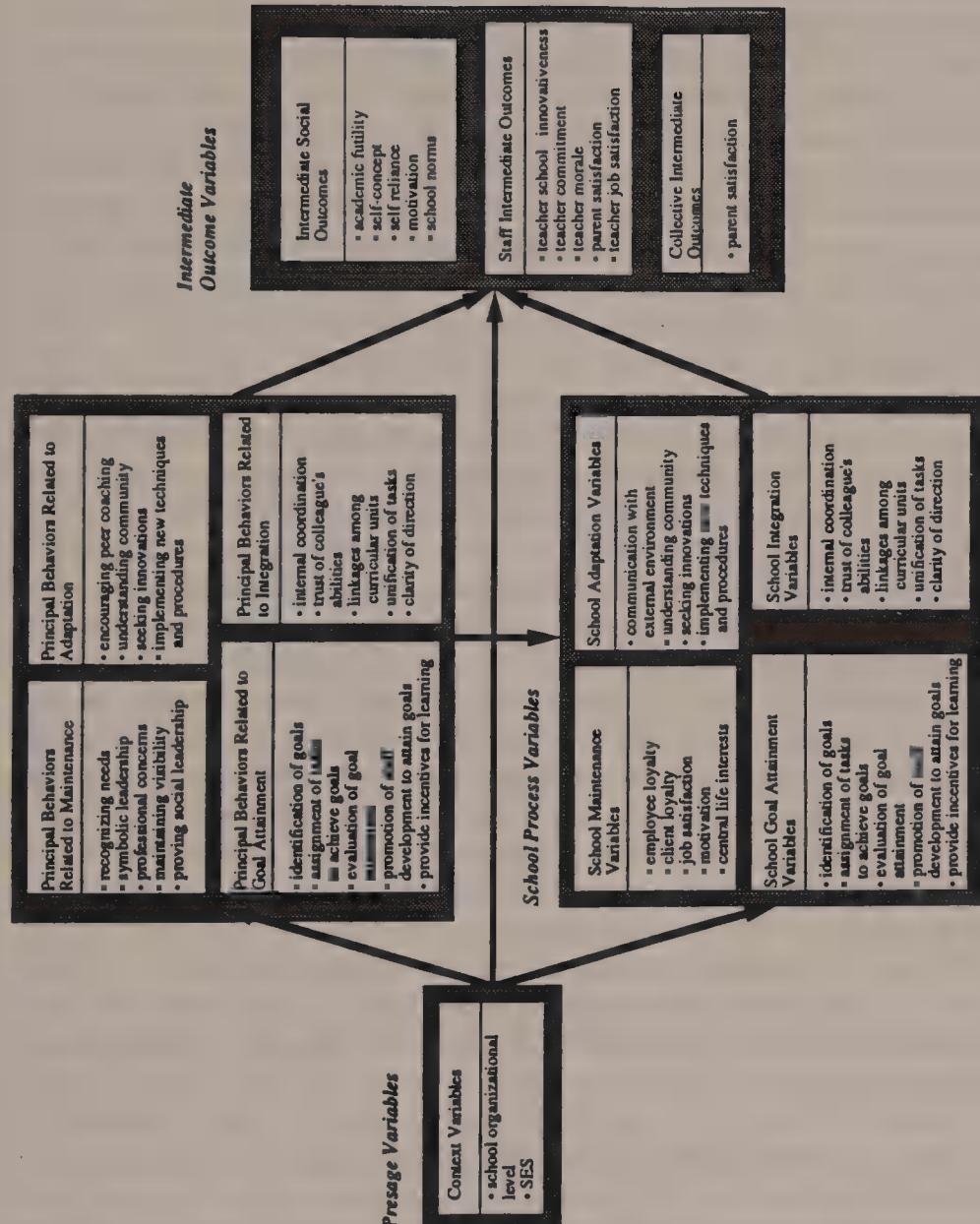


Figure 2. Effectiveness model tested.

Principal behaviors, which formed the third block of variables examined, were isolated from a literature search undertaken to identify traits, characteristics, behaviors, and attitudes that were thought to be important for effective leadership of a building. A procedure identified by Karis and Watters (1983) was employed to search over 32 data bases using 36 descriptors for articles that might be of relevance. In addition, through personal contact across the United States, several hundred additional nonreferenced articles were obtained; thus, the total set of documents examined for this study exceeded 1,500. After the documents were obtained, eight graduate students, college professors, and practicing administrators were employed to read subsets of the total material to isolate attitudes, behaviors, and skills that were identified in the published work. Each article was read by two reviewers and by a third person if agreement concerning the desirable characteristics could not be reached. A matrix-type analysis system was then employed to identify commonalities and differences across recommendations, and the list was condensed based on a commonality analysis. The remaining competencies ( $N = 150$ ) were then reviewed, modified, and validated by state and national experts who were representative of teachers, principals, superintendents, and college faculty teaching the "principalship" course. Finally, a sample of practicing administrators in the state were asked, through a structured questionnaire, to identify skills, behaviors, and attitudes which they thought were essential and those that were desirable but not critical. From an analysis of those data plus information compiled from prior consensus groups, a list of 60 basic competencies and subdescriptors was developed (see Wilson, Branch, & Rush, 1988a, 1988b). The identified competencies were then classified in terms of the effectiveness goal(s) they might best achieve (adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and maintenance).

Staff and student intermediate outcome measures were isolated from the literature in a similar fashion primarily based on previous work by Brookover et al. (1979), Ebmeier (1979, 1991), and Snyder (1991) and are defined as follows:

- Academic Futility—a student's perception of the relationships among effort in school, subsequent rewards, and future success in school.
- Self Concept—a student's perception of his/her ability to master school work, establish social friendships, and gain acceptance.
- Self Reliance—a student's perception of his/her ability and desire to function independently.
- Motivation—a student's motivation to attend school and the importance he/she attaches to school.

- School Norms—the student's perception of the school's achievement and work standards.
- Morale—the degree to which staff view work conditions as adequate, reasonable, and harmonious.
- Commitment—the degree to which the staff accept the organization's values and are willing to exert effort on behalf of the school.
- Job satisfaction—the degree to which the staff like their jobs.
- Parent Satisfaction—the degree to which parents are satisfied that the school is a good and respected institution.
- School Innovation—the staff's perception of the school's desire and ability to adopt new and innovative instructional materials and curriculum.

### *Model Development*

Each of the four organizational processes (maintenance, adaptation, goal attainment, and integration) served as the basis for one causal model with the contextual measures constant across all models. Ten intermediate outcome measures were linked to specific models depending on the theoretical constructs being tested (see Figures 3-6.) Since earlier studies (Horner, 1984; Hoy & Ferguson, 1985) indicated that both patrons of and participants in schools should provide data to determine school effectiveness and effects, the four models each have two distinct paths, based on whether the data examined represented teacher or parent perceptions of the four school functions. This resulted in a total of eight path models to be analyzed.

Of the eight path models, two tested the adaptation construct (Figure 3), where the outcome variables were parent satisfaction with the school and teacher perception of school innovation. These models focused on the ability of school participants to meet the changing demands for effective schools through innovation responsiveness and to the community environment (Booth, 1990; Derczo, 1987; Horner, 1984; Joyce, 1990; Joyce, Showers, & Rolheiser-Bennett, 1987; Lindle, 1989; Rosenholtz, 1989).

Two models were developed for the goal attainment construct (Figure 4) where student academic self-concept and student self-reliance for academic tasks were designated as outcome measures. These models were included because previous studies have indicated a strong link among students' attitudes and affective responses toward their school and school effectiveness (Bossert, 1988; Ebmeier, 1990a, 1990b; Rutter et al., 1979). For example, Brookover et al. (1979) employed these two variables to demonstrate that increased academic scores in effective

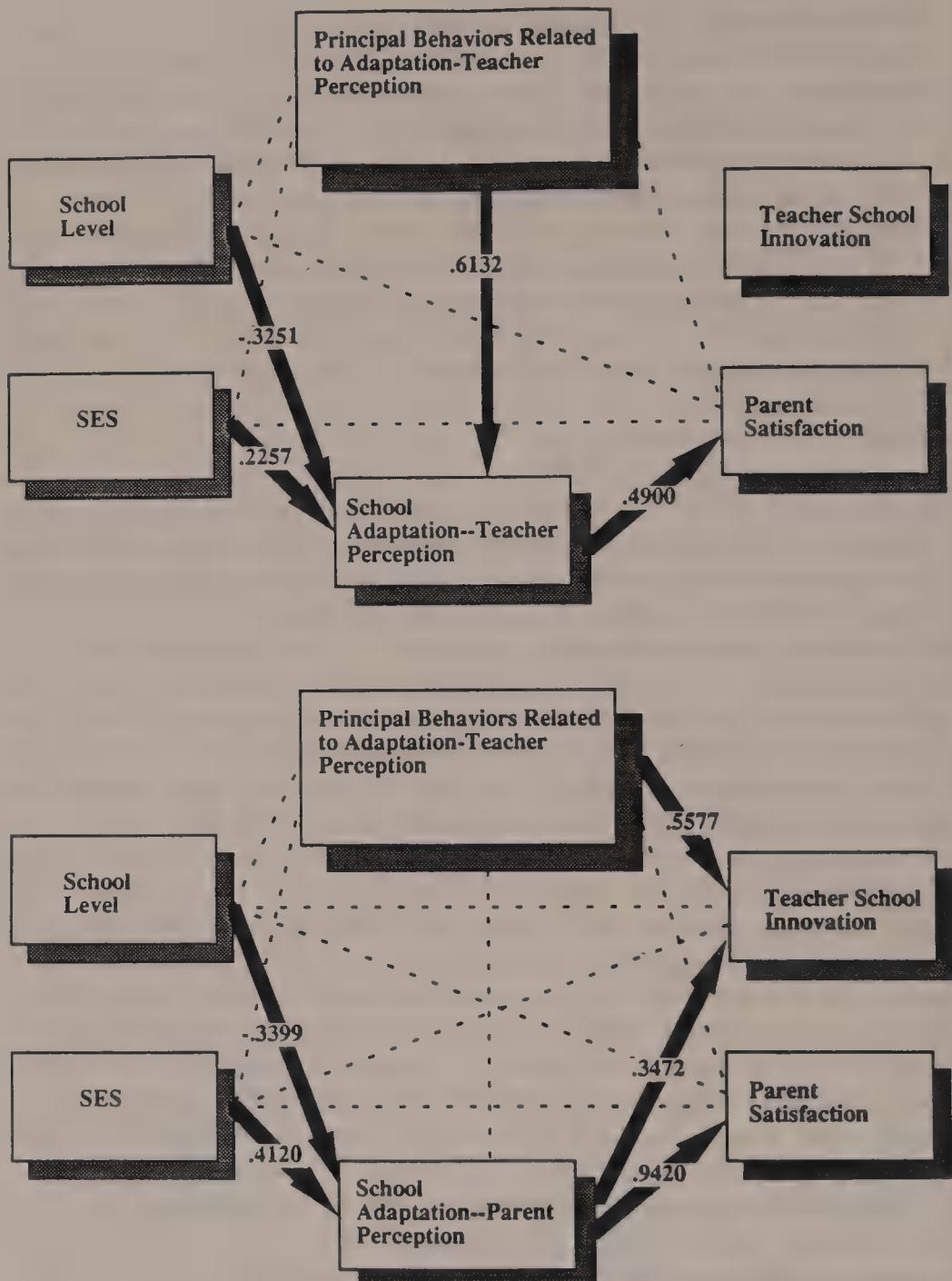


Figure 3. Adaptation models.

*Note.* Teacher School Innovation was not included in the path testing since it was derived from the same questions as the School Adaptation-teacher perception scale.

schools are not dependent only on socioeconomic status but also on what students think and believe about themselves in the school context.

The models that explored the integration construct (Figure 5) included three intermediate outcome measures—teacher morale, teacher job satisfaction, and student sense of academic futility. They were employed as attitudinal indicators of the solidarity in the school organization. Teacher morale and job satisfaction have shown strong relationships to school effectiveness (Block, 1983; Derczo, 1987; Horner, 1984; Hoy et al., 1990; Miskel & Ogawa, 1988; Rosenholtz, 1989), because teacher attitudes and beliefs about a school reflect the cohesive climate of the organization. Similarly, student sense of academic futility reflects their beliefs about how they fulfill the academic and role expectations of the school (Brookover et al., 1979).

The outcomes for the maintenance models (Figure 6) were teacher commitment, student motivation, and student adherence to school norms. Teacher commitment to the school organization has received special attention in effective schools research (Derczo, 1987; Horner, 1984; Rosenholtz, 1989), because of the dedication and motivation needed to be an effective teacher and the linkage between job motivation and remaining in the education profession. Student motivation likewise has reflected the need to maintain student interest, participation, and effort in the school, so that student growth is achieved (Block, 1983; Brophy, 1987). Finally, student acceptance of the normative culture of a school (student school norms) correlates significantly to work standards and academic achievement (Brookover et al., 1979).

Previous research and reviews of the literature (Anderson, 1982; Derczo, 1987; Glasman & Biniaminov, 1981; Heck, Larsen, & Marcouides, 1990; Pitner, 1988) suggested the use of path analysis for this study. Because the school functions variables were defined in terms of parent and teacher perceptions and parent and teacher outcomes were derived from the school functions variables, there were a total of 18 paths analyzed. There are 8 paths analyzed using the teacher perceptions of the school functions and 10 paths using the parent perceptions of the same school functions.

## Method

### *Description of Sample*

To test the viability of the path models, 30 schools were selected to participate in the study from volunteer school districts in Kansas and

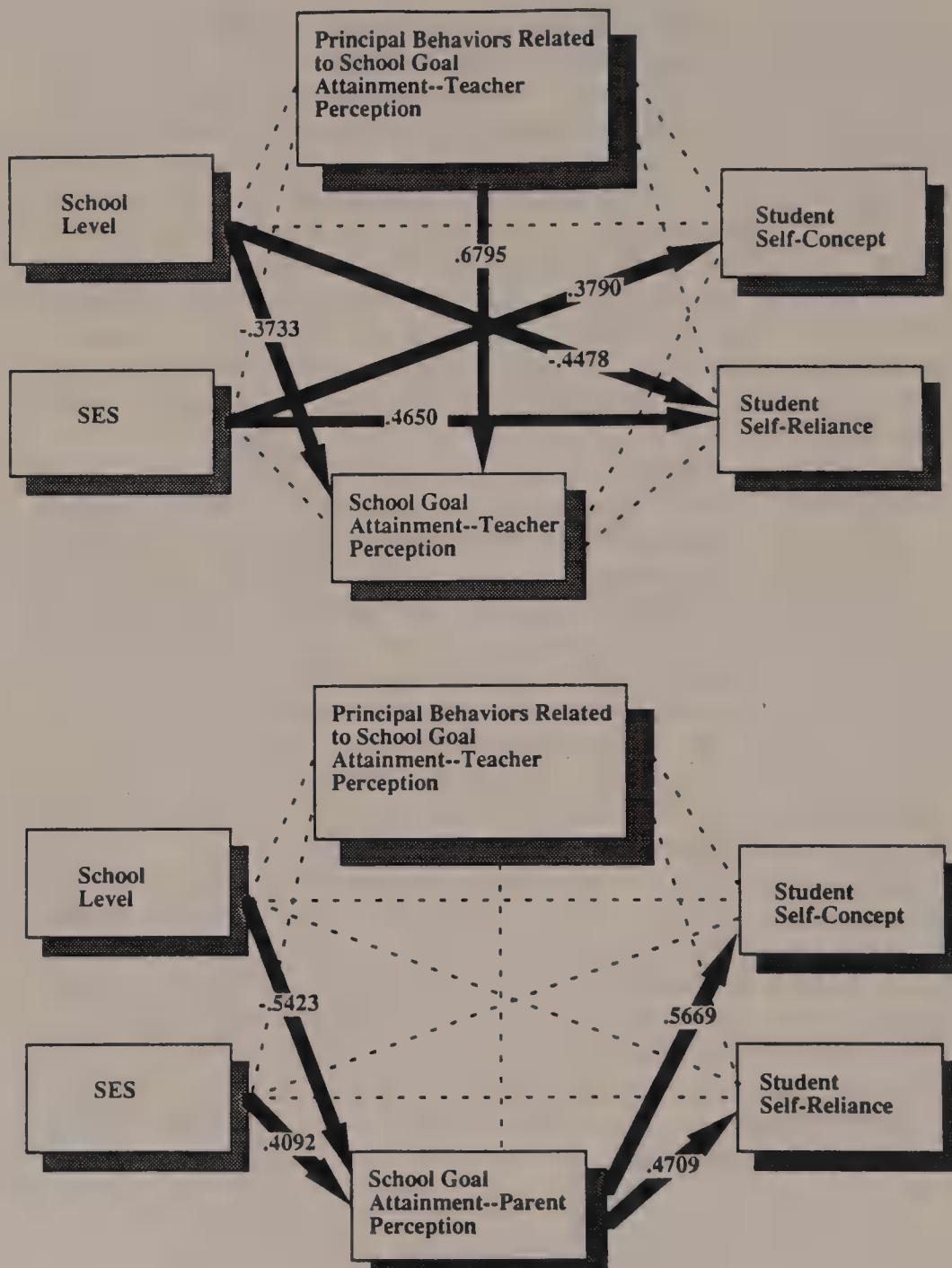


Figure 4. Goal attainment models.

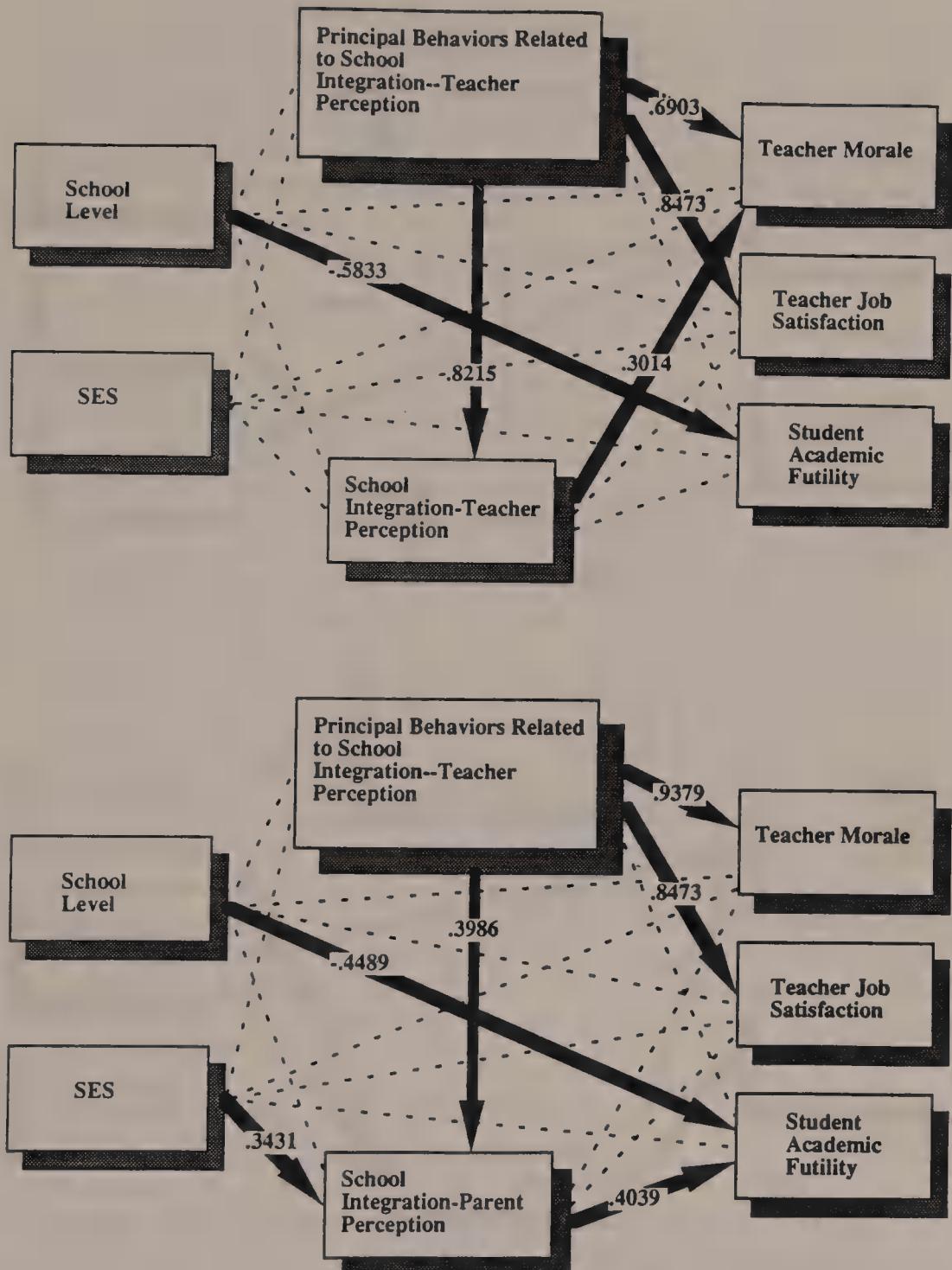


Figure 5. Integration models.

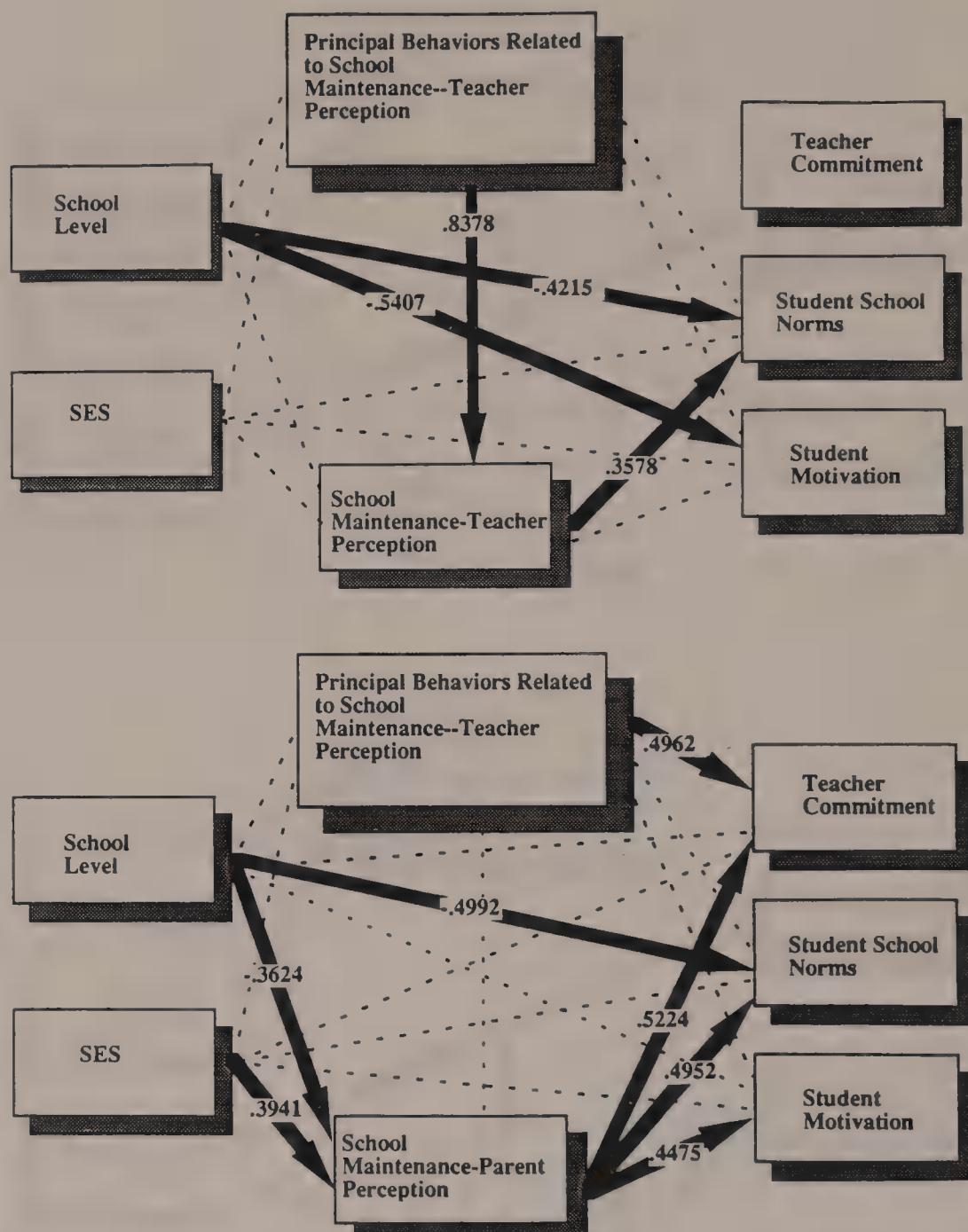


Figure 6. Maintenance models.

Note. Teacher Commitment was not included in the path testing since it was derived from the same questions as the School Maintenance-teacher perception scale.

western Missouri (15 elementary, 6 middle, and 9 senior high schools). These schools were reasonably representative of all schools in the Midwest, but not nationally, since the sample did not include any urban inner-city school. (Rural schools from poor SES areas were, however, included.) Questionnaires (Ebmeier, 1989) were developed to measure each of the 24 constructs included in models. These questionnaires were administered to all teachers, and a random sample (approximately one-fourth) of the school's students and parents.

### *Analysis*

Although construct, content, and predictive validity for the instruments had previously been established (Ebmeier, 1991), reliabilities for the sample used in this particular study were recalculated to insure generalizability and stability. Results of these calculations were similar to the original reliability estimates with Cronbach alpha reliabilities ranging from .78 to .97 (Snyder, 1991). The ordinary least squares method for path analysis was employed in this study using the school as the unit of analysis. The steps called for by this path analysis procedure included (a) formulation of a causal model with specified variables, (b) correlational analysis, (c) multiple regression analysis, and (d) the calculation of direct and indirect effects. Once the regressions were completed, the statistical analysis included a check to determine if assumptions for a path analysis were fulfilled. Theory trimming was applied to the path models excluding those paths that were not statistically significant or in line with theory. Finally, the direct and indirect effects were calculated and compared to the Pearson  $r$  correlations. (See Asher, 1976; Duncan, 1975; James, Mulaik, & Brett, 1982; Pedhazur, 1982 for discussions of causal modeling and path analysis.) Part of the analytic procedures attempted to deal with possible problems of interaction and multicollinearity among variables. (For further information and analysis, see Snyder, 1991.)

### *Path Analysis Results*

Once the regression results were analyzed, the path models were trimmed. These trimmed models and path coefficients for the adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and maintenance models are presented in Figures 3-6. The lack of significant direct effects is indicated by dashed lines from one variable to another in the diagram while significant effects are signified by solid lines. Each of the direct effects is measured by path coefficients which indicate the fraction of the standard

dependent variable for which the independent variable is directly responsible. For example, the path coefficient from principal behaviors oriented to adaptation on teacher school innovation was .5577 (Figure 3b) and, consequently, seemed to have a moderately strong effect on that teacher outcome. Tables 1 to 4 provide summaries of the correlations, the regressions, and the direct and indirect effect parameters for each of the trimmed path models.

While it is not possible to report all the descriptive, correlation, and regression analysis results from this study, the path analysis results provided rich information about the causal relationships among the variables. From examination of the diagrams and tables, it is evident that teacher and parent perceptions of school functions yield different significant paths. Teacher perceptions of the four school functions provided three significant paths to 8 outcomes, whereas parents perceptions of the functions provided eight significant paths to 10 outcomes. Parent perceptions of school functions had significant direct effects on all five student outcomes, while teacher perceptions only provided direct links to student academic futility and student school norms.

In this study principal behaviors had significant direct effects on all teacher outcomes and on all teacher perceptions of school functions. On the other hand, principal behaviors did not have significant direct effects on any student outcomes, on parent satisfaction, or on three of the

Table 1  
*Adaptation Models: Correlations, Direct Effects, Indirect Effects, and Total Effect*

Variables (Dependent Underlined)	Pearson r Correlation	Direct Effect	Indirect Effect	Total Effect
<u>Parent Satisfaction</u>		Rsq = .2401		F = 8.8467**
School Level	-.2131	.0000	-.1593	-.1593
SES	.4036	.0000	.1394	.1394
Principal Adaptation	.1966	.0000	.3005	.3005
Adaptation (Teacher)	.4900	.4900	.0000	.4900
<u>Parent Satisfaction</u>		Rsq = .8873		F = 220.4200**
School Level	-.2131	.0000	-.3202	-.3202
SES	.4036	.0000	.3881	.3881
Adaptation (Parent)	.9420	.9420	.0000	.9420
<u>Teacher School Innovation</u>		Rsq = .5116		F = 14.1438**
School Level	-.4113	.0000	-.1180	-.1180
SES	.2014	.0000	.1430	.1430
Principal Adaptation	.6295	.5577	.0000	.5577
Adaptation (Parent)	.4625	.3472	.0000	.3472

\*\*p < .01

Table 2

Goal Attainment Models: Correlations, Direct Effects, Indirect Effects, and Total Effect

Variables (Dependent Underlined)	Pearson r Correlation	Direct Effect	Indirect Effect	Total Effect
<u>Student Self Concept</u>		Rsq = .1436		F = 3.6021*
School Level	-.2367	.0000	.0000	.0000
SES	.3790	.3790	.0000	.3790
Principal Goal Attainment	.2127	.0000	.0000	.0000
Goal Attainment (Teacher)	.4900	.0000	.0000	.0000
<u>Student Self Reliance</u>		Rsq = .3434		F = 7.0599**
School Level	-.3658	-.4478	.0000	-.4478
SES	.3861	.4650	.0000	.4650
Principal Goal Attainment	.0361	.0000	.0000	.0000
Goal Attainment (Teacher)	.1870	.0000	.0000	.0000
<u>Student Self Concept</u>		Rsq = .3690		F = 13.2633**
School Level	-.2367	.0000	-.3074	-.3074
SES	.3790	.0000	.2320	.2320
Goal Attainment (Parent)	.5669	.5669	.0000	.5669
<u>Student Self Reliance</u>		Rsq = .2218		F = 7.9798**
School Level	-.3658	.0000	-.2554	-.2554
SES	.3861	.0000	.1927	.1927
Goal Attainment (Parent)	.4709	.4709	.0000	.4709

\*\*p &lt; .01 and \*p &lt; .05

four parent perceptions of school functions. Principal behaviors had indirect effects on student academic futility, student school norms, and parent satisfaction. (Refer to Tables 1 to 4 for indirect effects.) Overall, in 9 of 18 path models principal behaviors had direct or indirect effects on outcomes.

The presage context variables, school level, and SES had significant direct or indirect effects on mediating and outcome variables but no effects on principal behaviors. For this study, school level had significant negative direct or indirect effects on all student and parent outcomes but no direct effects on principal behaviors or teacher outcomes. SES had 9 indirect and 2 direct effects on outcomes in 18 models. SES was mediated more by the school functions (eight for parent perceptions variables and one for teacher perceptions) than was school level (four for parent and one for teacher).

In comparing the total effect parameters with the Pearson *r* correlations, some statistical difficulties surfaced. The total effect parameter was

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Table 3

*Integration Models: Correlations, Direct Effects, Indirect Effects, and Total Effect*

Variables (Dependent Underlined)	Pearson r Correlation	Direct Effect	Indirect Effect	Total Effect
<u>Teacher Morale</u>		Rsq = .9092		F = 135.1321**
Principal Integration	.9379	.6903	.2476	.9379
Integration (Teacher)	.8684	.3014	.0000	.3014
<u>Teacher Job Satisfaction</u>		Rsq = .7180		F = 71.2761**
Principal Integration	.8473	.8473	.0000	.8473
Integration (Teacher)	.7160	.0000	.0000	.0000
<u>Student Academic Futility</u>		Rsq = .3403		F = 14.4428**
School Level	-.5833	-.5833	.0000	-.5833
Principal Integration	.2493	.0000	.0000	.0000
Integration (Teacher)	.3387	.0000	.0000	.0000
<u>Teacher Morale</u>		Rsq = .8796		F = 204.6243**
SES	-.0438	.0000	.0000	.0000
Principal Integration	.9379	.9379	.0000	.9379
Integration (Parent)	.4142	.0000	.0000	.0000
<u>Teacher Job Satisfaction</u>		Rsq = .7180		F = 71.2761**
SES	-.0540	.0000	.0000	.0000
Principal Integration	.8473	.8473	.0000	.8473
Integration (Parent)	.4225	.0000	.0000	.0000
<u>Student Academic Futility</u>		Rsq = .4854		F = 12.7326**
School Level	-.5833	-.4489	.0000	-.4489
SES	.1738	.0000	.1386	.1386
Principal Integration	.2493	.0000	.1610	.1610
Integration (Parent)	.4039	.4039	.0000	.4039

\*\*p < .01

greater than the Pearson *r* correlation in 8 of 58 comparisons. According to path analysis techniques the Pearson *r* should be greater than or equal to the total effect given the proper decomposition. There were some unanalyzed effects among the exogenous, context variables that accounted for larger total effects. In addition, the context variables probably served as proxies for other variables not included or analyzed in this study (e.g., school size, student age). Among variable measures obtained from the same sources (e.g., principal behaviors and teacher perceptions of school functions), multicollinearity probably occurred because of the autocorrelation among variables that were measured by the same parties. Results then can be biased upwards. Interpretation of

Table 4

Maintenance Models: Correlations, Direct Effects, Indirect Effects, and Total Effect

Variables (Dependent Underlined)	Pearson r Correlation	Direct Effect	Indirect Effect	Total Effect
<u>Student Motivation</u>		Rsq = .1776		F = 6.0480*
School Level	-.4215	-.4215	.0000	-.4215
Principal Maintenance	.0667	.0000	.0000	.0000
Maintenance (Teacher)	.1012	.0000	.0000	.0000
<u>Student School Norms</u>		Rsq = .5324		F = 15.3735**
School Level	-.6443	-.5407	.0000	-.5407
Principal Maintenance	.4272	.0000	.2998	.2998
Maintenance (Teacher)	.5144	.3578	.0000	.3578
<u>Teacher Commitment</u>		Rsq = .6352		F = 23.5031**
School Level	-.2706	.0000	-.1893	-.1893
SES	.0925	.0000	.2059	.2095
Principal Integration	.6131	.4962	.0000	.4962
Integration (Parent)	.6335	.5224	.0000	.5224
<u>Student Motivation</u>		Rsq = .2003		F = 7.0115*
School Level	-.4215	-.4215	.0000	-.4215
SES	.0975	.0000	.1764	.1764
Maintenance (Parent)	.4475	.4475	.0000	.4475
<u>Student School Norms</u>		Rsq = .5324		F = 14.4428**
School Level	-.6443	-.4992	-.1638	-.6630
SES	.0483	.0000	.1952	.1952
Maintenance (Parent)	.6415	.4952	.0000	.4952

\*\*p < .01 and \*p < .05

these eight total effects was done cautiously because of the statistical difficulties. Finally, the sample size of 30 schools was not as large as desirable to detect significance among weaker linkages represented in the path models.

### Discussion and Implications

The existence of significant paths from either the four principal behavior variables or the two sets of four school functions variables to outcomes reconfirm the use of Parsons' four organizational functions model (Derczo, 1987; Horner, 1984; Hoy & Ferguson, 1985). The path models investigated in this study indicate that the generalized model provides a way to investigate the causal links in school processes. These results also

support, in concept, the work of Heck et al. (1990), who reported causal linkages among principal instructional leadership variables and student academic achievement. Although the two studies varied in the choice of process and outcome measures and the sample selection procedure (extreme groups vs. a continuum), the overall efficacy of using structural modeling to better understand principal behavior within its contextual environment is supported.

The path analysis of the generalized causal model indicated that principals have strong, direct effects on mediating variables such as teacher perceptions of school functions and on teacher outcomes. However, principals did not have direct effects on student intermediate outcomes—only a few indirect effects. This evidence supports similar findings (Heck, 1992; Heck et al., 1990; Heck, Marcoulides, & Lang, 1991; Kmetz & Willower, 1982; Martin & Willower, 1981) and suggests that when principals do influence student outcomes such as academic achievement, they do so primarily indirectly working through the teaching staff. For example, Heck (1992) found that principal instructional leadership behaviors that involved direct principal intervention in the instructional lives of teachers (making classroom visitations, promoting staff discussions about instructional issues, protecting faculty instructional time, etc.) were predictive of school academic achievement in both elementary and secondary schools. Unfortunately, as Heck (1992) points out, principals are often seen as more effective in dealing with issues external to the classroom. They receive low marks from teachers for their ability to be of any help in dealing with classroom problems other than discipline. Indeed, previous research indicates that typical principals allocate very little of their time toward activities that require them to interact with teachers in substantive ways concerning the educational program that affects the individual teacher's students (Ebmeier, 1991).

In comparing parent and teacher perceptions of the school functions, there were some clear differences in the causal connections between school functions and student outcomes offered by these two groups. Parent perceptions provided causal links from the school functions to all 5 student outcomes, whereas teacher perceptions provided causal links to only 2 student outcomes that were tied closely to school matters. If student growth is a school concern, this study indicates that parent as well as teacher input about school functions should be sought, because parents provided strong, direct causal connections between school functions and student outcomes. This finding implies that evaluation of school effectiveness requires the use of parent input to understand the effect schooling has on students (Barth, 1990). Clearly, parents are better judges of certain intermediate students' outcomes (and presumably

more distant outcomes) than are teachers or principals. Furthermore, principals may need to gather and heed information from parents to determine the actual effects of their schools on their students. Internal evaluations by their teachers or superiors may not provide sufficient and reliable information.

These results do not support the practice of basing a principal's summative evaluation on student affective outcomes such as self-concept, self-reliance, and motivation. There simply were no significant causal relationships among principal behaviors and these variables. There also seems to be little conceptual reason to think such linkages exist given present school structures. The outcome results appear to be too removed from the sphere of the principal's influence. Indeed, a principal's work often is decoupled from the instructional process, and the principal apparently exerts little direct control over learning or attitude formation—at least at the individual student level. As Hart (1992) points out, "principals lack the absolute power or even direct influence that allow causal linkages to be drawn with confidence . . . thus, indirect interaction links become more important" (p. 2).

From a principal practice perspective, the effects of school context were reconfirmed (Wimpelberg, Teddlie, & Stringfield, 1989). In particular, SES had causal links to student outcomes, but had relatively little effect on reported principal behavior. This finding is consistent with the literature on leader succession and socialization that suggests that the organization itself tends to shape the principal's behavior rather than the reverse (Hart, 1991, 1992; Heck, 1992; Ogawa, 1991). Even more importantly, the negative effects of school level on student outcomes seemed to reconfirm the reported deadening experience students have with schooling (McNeil, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c). Clearly this finding points to the contextual nature of leadership across organizational levels. It therefore seems inappropriate to hold principals accountable for the school's contextual environment—SES, organizational level, teacher background, principal predispositions, student background characteristics, and so forth—even though these variables had significant direct or indirect effects on all student intermediate outcomes. Principal behaviors and school processes as seen by teachers do not appear to be linked in a significant way to the school's context. Although principals do have influence over some contextual factors (teacher selection, orientation, school organizational characteristics, etc.), the actual amount of variance they control is minimal. For example, principals typically have discretionary control over less than 10% of their school's budget, can only employ teachers recommended from a pool preselected by the central personnel office, have district-adopted curriculum and instructional

standards and expectations, are bound by historical customs such as grouping students chronologically for instruction, can only employ personnel that graduate from teachers' colleges and who are state certified, and so forth. If principals were afforded more control over the input variables such as staff selection and budget authority, and if school outcomes were clearly defined, then principals might have more control over achievement and affective attitude variance and could more reasonably be held accountable for student outputs.

Evidence from this study indicates that principals can and should, however, be evaluated in terms of teacher outcomes and teacher perceptions of school functioning. The strengths of the path coefficients indicate that principals strongly and directly affect teacher innovation, morale, job satisfaction, and commitment. Clearly they have an important influence on all four Parsonian school processes—maintenance, goal attainment, integration, and adaptation (see Hart, 1992, for a discussion of possible mechanisms for an evaluation based on theories of social interaction that lead to heightened social influence by principals). To a lesser degree, the principal can also be held accountable for students' sense of academic futility and their acceptance of normative behavior in the school. However, these school-related student outcomes are mediated by other variables and are indirect. The path coefficients of .1610 and .2998, respectively, do not indicate a strong linkage. Hence, these student outcomes should be used and interpreted knowing that the linkage is not strong.

From examination of the results of this study, there are a number of variables whose role is unclear in terms of principal evaluation. For example, although principals are perceived by teachers as strongly and directly affecting the four school functions (path coefficients range from .6132 to .8378 with the external functions of adaptation and goal attainment being smaller and the internal functions of integration and maintenance being larger), it is unclear if the principal affects the processes or rather if the processes affect the principal. Experimental intervention studies will be needed to resolve the nature of this recursive relationship. Similarly, parents provide only one link from principal behaviors to the school functions (integration). The path coefficient was .3986, which is low compared to teacher perceptions. Until the theoretical model about the relationships between teacher and parent perceptions of the school functions is better clarified, it is uncertain whether or how parent perceptions of the four school process variables should be used to evaluate principals. It is also uncertain whether parent satisfaction should be used as a means to evaluate principals. While the indirect effect is .3005, the correlation is .1966. These statistical anomalies and the lack of a clear relationship among these variables call for caution.

The research implications of this study are two-fold. First, the use of the proposed model needs further investigation using additional school sites. The instruments used in this study provided information that led to causal connections among variables defined from the survey items. However, those causal connections need to be investigated further with special attention devoted to avoiding the autocorrelations and, hence, multicollinearity between variables measured by the same group of people (e.g., teachers). In addition, the research methodology calls for clearer specifications and relationships of the context variables among themselves and to the other blocks of variables in the causal model.

Second, the relationship between the teacher and parent perceptions of the four school functions is unclear. The teachers provided rich data for the internal operations of the school while parents provided strong causal connections from school functions to student outcomes. To capitalize on the differences between the parent and teacher perception variables and the statistical relationships that surfaced in this study, one research avenue might investigate a different set of relationships among the blocks of variables (see Snyder, 1991, for a presentation of this model).

Previous research has formulated correlates that indicated effective schools. Principal behaviors and school processes correlated to teacher and student climate outcomes, and, in this study, were related through causal relationships among blocks of variables. Further research along these lines can continue to shed light on principal behaviors, the functions and processes in schools, and their relationships to outcomes of significance for schools.

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# Toward Assessing Test Score-Related Actions of Principals

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This article is related to recent phenomena which followed the intensification in public demand for accountability in education. A focus has developed not only on the need to improve levels of student achievement, but on the school principal to assume responsibility in the attempts to meet this need. From an intellectual perspective, this article is grounded in the expanding line of research on the relationship between attributes of the school principal and levels of student achievement in the principal's school.

To suggest that the principal might play a pivotal role in the enhancement of student achievement is not to ignore the central role which students and teachers have in how well students perform. In fact, because of the centrality of students and teachers, research results about the impact of the principal are mixed. In the 1970s there was evidence already about the existence of the principal's influence (e.g., Deal & Celotti, 1980; Edmonds, 1981). But it was also found (e.g., Phi Delta Kappa, 1980; State of New York, 1974) that principals in high- and low-scoring schools have similar qualities. Some later conclusions (e.g., Glasman, 1986; Heck, Larsen, & Marcoulides, 1990) pointed to an extremely complex relationship between attributes of principals and levels of student achievement. It was also suggested that the relationship is indirect and probably two-directional.

Various researchers found principals in high-performing schools to have different attributes than those in low-performing schools. For example, Huff, Lake, and Schaalman (1982) found them to have stronger affective traits and cognitive analytical skills. They also found them to be more involved with change in a more focused way. Bossert, Dwyer,

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Rowan, and Lee (1982) found these principals to differ in their decisions about instruction (time utilization, class size and composition, groupings, instructional climate, and teacher behavior). Croghan and Lake (1984) detected stronger achievement motivation and self-preservation, stronger proactive orientation and decisiveness, more intensive information searches, and stronger conceptual flexibility and interaction-type management. Heck et al. (1990) found stronger incidences of involving staff in decisions and parents in programs, protecting faculty, communicating goals and expectations, recognizing achievement, observing teachers, securing resources, and evaluating programs.

Differences between the groups of principals were found in all of the studies mentioned above. Causality was implied in none of the studies. Additionally, none of the researchers suggested that the findings could be used in the development of principal assessment instruments. Usually, such suggestions are made by others who write about research work (e.g., Anderson, 1989; Phi Delta Kappa, 1984). Most of these suggestions involve not issues of what and how to evaluate but rather issues about who should talk to whom and when.

This article reports on two studies which also found differences among principals in schools which perform at different achievement levels. In both of these studies, student test scores were conceptualized as a problem. Principal actions were conceptualized as attempts to solve the problem. In the first study (Fuller, 1989), differences were found in activities which together constitute a problem-solving model focused on rational behavior. In the other study (Ybarra, 1992) principals' choice of activities constituted components of district-recommended programs.

On the basis of the differences found in both studies, this article proposes two new approaches for assessing the performance of principals. One approach includes rationally segmented steps. The other approach focuses on programs as preliminarily identifiable steps. Following is a summary of both studies.

## Method

### *Study Number One*

Fuller (1989) studied what principals report that they do in an effort to enhance student achievement. She chose for the study elementary school principals in Los Angeles County (excluding those in Los Angeles Unified School District) who had two characteristics. One was that they had been in the same school for at least 4 consecutive years (352 of them in the county). The other was that the California Achievement

Program (CAP) mean scores of their third grade students had continuously improved (18 schools) or declined (13 schools) between 1985 and 1988 in reading, writing, and mathematics. Respectively, 11 and 9 principals were available for interviews. Their schools' socioeconomic status was representative of those of others in the respective districts.

Building on the work of Patterson (1984) and Baarstad (1987) that focused on the identification of intentional actions in which principals engage in order to solve problems, Fuller constructed what she called a rational decisionmaking behavior instrument. She used the instrument to solicit principals' recollections concerning what they did about the problem of student achievement in their respective schools. Following is the model used by Fuller (1989):

1. Identifying the problem.
  - a. recognizing it.
  - b. recognizing its importance.
  - c. recognizing the pressure to tackle it.
2. Gathering information pertinent to the problem.
3. Analyzing the information and the problem.
  - a. partitioning the problem.
  - b. partitioning the data.
4. Developing criteria for assessing solutions.
  - a. constructing criteria for measuring success.
  - b. constructing a first draft assessment instrument.
5. Generating alternatives.
  - a. listing options.
  - b. listing activities leading to options.
6. Predicting consequences.
  - a. considering implications of possible actions.
  - b. considering obstacles and opportunities presented by choosing a particular course of action.
7. Deciding.
  - a. choosing an alternative.
  - b. developing confidence in the choice.
8. Planning the implementation.
  - a. deciding on how to implement.
  - b. deciding on who will be involved in the implementation.
  - c. deciding on what resources will be needed for the implementation.
9. Communicating the implementation.
10. Monitoring the implementation.

11. Evaluating the outcome of the implementation in relation to expectations.

The complete questionnaire Fuller used is included in the appendix.

Answers to the questions were tape recorded and later content analyzed. The protocols were scored "blindly" as follows. Each answer for each question was assigned a score from 0 to 3. A score of 0 indicated that the decision-making step or substep was not mentioned by the principal at all. A score of 1 indicated a mention of the step but very low reported usage. A score of 2 indicated a stronger usage and a score of 3 indicated a strong full usage. Five raters assigned scores to each step. Interrater reliability among raters ranged from .820 (step 5) to .949 (step 1). Discrepancies were resolved by choosing for each step a score (0, 1, 2, 3) closest to the mean assigned raters' scores.

### *Study Number Two*

Ybarra (1992) also studied what principals report that they do in an effort to improve student achievement scores. Ybarra chose for her study all principals in Ventura County in California who had been in their present position for at least 4 years (1987-1991). Of the 42 such principals in the county, 35 were available for interviews. Of them, 20 administered elementary schools, 8 junior high schools, and 7 high schools.

While Fuller (1989) interviewed only principals whose school's CAP scores improved or declined in reading, writing, and mathematics in each of 3 consecutive years, Ybarra (1992) interviewed all principals and then analyzed their responses by three groups as follows. She added up for each school the number of annual improvements over 4 years in class mean scores in each subject matter and the corresponding number of declines. Sixteen schools (four elementary, seven junior high, five high schools) which she labeled "improving schools" had more incidences of annual score improvement than decline. The range of the differences was 1 to 10. Eleven schools (all elementary) which she labeled "declining schools" had more incidences of annual score decline than improvement. The range of the differences was one to seven. Eight schools (five elementary, one junior high, two high schools) which she labeled "maintenance schools" had identical number of incidences of annual score improvement and decline.

On the basis of suggestions provided by Smith and Andrews (1989) and Ybarra's (1992) own pilot study in Ventura County, she chose a fairly

comprehensive list of 21 sets of activities for each subject matter which principals might engage in in an attempt to improve student achievement test scores. These were:

1. Providing specialists services.
2. Establishing incentive programs.
3. Requiring schoolwide sustained programs.
4. Providing parent education services in reading or mathematics or authors' fair in writing.
5. Providing site-specific staff development.
6. Devoting staff meeting time to the discussion of teaching.
7. Conducting discussions with staff regarding site-specific CAP achievement trends.
8. Conducting teacher observations and evaluations for teaching improvement.
9. Adopting a new Language Arts series or a new Math Series.
10. Facilitating district-level incentive programs.
11. Providing opportunities for principals to attend conferences and seminars.
12. Designating district-wide mentor teachers.
13. Providing literature regarding related issues.
14. Discussing instructional issues at administrative staff meetings.
15. Community strategies regarding mechanics of achievement testing.
16. Setting expectations regarding achievement.
17. Conducting observations of conferences with teachers.
18. Allocating funds for services and materials.
19. Aligning district curriculum with the state Language Arts framework.
20. Providing district-wide staff development regarding issues.
21. Providing technology-based experiences.

With regard to each of these sets of activities, Ybarra (1992) asked the principals the following questions:

1. Have these activities taken place in your school in the past 3 or 4 years?
2. Have these activities been initiated as a result of student achievement scores in your school?
3. Have these activities contributed to student achievement scores?
4. What has your role been in these activities?

Answers to the questions were recorded. The answers to each of the

first three questions were "yes" or "no." The answers to the fourth question were open ended and later content analyzed.

## Findings

### *Study Number One*

A detailed picture of the scope and extent of the use of the 20 substeps in the rational decisionmaking model is provided in Table 1. As can be seen in the table, there is a large variation among principals in the extent of their use of substeps.

Means of the extent of use of the steps and substeps for each of the two groups of principals are depicted in Table 2. As can be seen in Table 2, each of the activities showed a higher mean extent of use for principals in improving schools than for principals in declining schools. Significant differences were found for 13 out of the 20 activities. Each group of principals achieved a form of rationality (see Simon, 1947, 1962). But principals in the improving schools processed more information and attached more accurate values to decisions than their counterparts in declining schools.

Some specific activities in the rational decision-making model deserve a few comments. Several of the principals in the improving schools mentioned that it was their personal goal to raise student scores. Such a goal had been linked to pressure which they experienced in relation to the problem of student achievement (Burlingame, 1988; Patterson, 1984; Willis, 1980). In Fuller's (1989) study, the principals in improving schools recognized such pressure significantly more than those in declining schools did (substep 1.3). Recognizing such pressure early in the decision-making process may become a good predictor of later behavior in the same process.

Recognizing the importance of the problem (1.2), recognizing the need to partition the problem (3.1), and recognizing the need to allocate resources to solve the problem (8.3) are also mentioned in the literature (Iannaccone & Jamgochian, 1985) as central to enhancing student achievement when student achievement is viewed as a problem. Fuller's study provides rich descriptive data about the differences in these activities between principals in the two sets of schools. Principals in improving schools tend to "own" the problem more than principals in declining schools. The latter group tends to delegate responsibilities in dealing with the problem, or to claim that it is not under their control. Principals in improving schools also recognize that the problem is complex and in

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Table 1  
Degree of Use of Decision-Making Steps by Principals (3 High - 0 Low)

Rational Decision Making	Sub Step	Principals in Improving Schools	Principals in Declining Schools
Recognizing Problem	1.1	1.2	1.3
Recognizing Problem's Implications	1.2	1.3	2
Recognizing Problem's Implications' Pressure to Tackle	1.3	2	3.1
Gathering Information	2	3	3.2
Partitioning Problem	3	3	3
Partitioning Data	3	3	3
Constructing Criteria for Measures of Success	3	3	3
Assessing First Draft	3	3	3
Listing Alternatives Leading to Options	3	3	3
Considering Implications of Options	3	3	3
Choosing an Alternative	3	3	3
Developing Confidence in the Choice	3	3	3
Describing How to Implement	3	3	3
Describing on Who Will be Involved	3	3	3
Deciding on What Resources Will Be Needed	3	3	3
About Steps of Implementation	3	3	3
Checking on Progress of Implementation	3	3	3
Appraising Outcome of Implementation	3	3	3

**Table 2**

*Degree of Use of (3 High - 0 Low) of Decision-Making Steps and Substeps by Group of Principals*

Step	Sub Step	Mean Scores of Degree Use of Step and Sub Step		T*
		Principals in Declining Schools	Principals in Improving Schools	
1. Identifying the problem		2.70	1.59	
	1.1	2.91	1.33	p < .001
	1.2	2.91	1.78	p < .001
	1.3	2.27	1.67	p < .0115
2. Collecting Data		2.64	1.44	p < .001
3. Analyzing the Problem		2.55	1.39	
	3.1	2.55	1.56	p < .0252
	3.2	2.55	1.22	p < .001
4. Devising Solution Criteria		1.82	1.33	
	4.1	1.91	1.44	p < .2739
	3.2	1.73	1.22	p < .3312
5. Generating Alternatives		1.86	0.88	
	5.1	2.27	1.00	p < .077
	5.2	1.45	0.77	p < .2539
6. Predicting Consequences		2.18	1.22	
	6.1	2.09	1.00	p < .007
	6.2	2.27	1.44	p < .0142
7. Deciding		2.41	1.56	
	7.1	2.36	0.88	p < .002
	7.2	2.45	2.22	p < .3971
8. Planning Implementation		2.64	1.67	
	8.1	2.27	1.78	p < .3076
	8.2	2.73	1.56	p < .002
	8.3	2.64	1.56	p < .003
9. Communicating Implementation		2.64	1.67	p < .002
10. Monitoring Implementation		2.55	1.33	p < .002
11. Evaluating		2.18	1.78	p < .3003

\*Significance level of the difference between the two groups

need of in-depth analysis. Principals in declining schools tend to minimize the magnitude of the problem. Finally, those in improving schools view the problem as pervasive in the school while those in declining schools do not.

There are revealing differences between the two groups of principals also with respect to other activities which include becoming aware of the problem (1.1), gathering pertinent data about the problem (2) (3.2), considering obstacles and opportunities (6.2), choosing an alternative (7.1), and choosing ways to implement and monitor (8.2) (9) (10). What one detects here is that principals in improving schools tend to be strongly involved in several steps of the decision-making process. They search for the problem and do not wait for it to emerge. They collect a large amount of data and analyze these data alone and with other staff members. They generate alternative solutions so that as many avenues as possible can be explored. They decide (i.e., exercise their responsibility to do so) and they do so unequivocally. They also involve themselves in the post-decision stage by choosing ways to implement the decision, informing others about it, and monitoring the implementation process. In short, they spend much time and energy in the decision-making process itself. Less involvement in such activities is reported by most principals in declining schools.

### *Study Number Two*

Table 3 summarizes the percent of principals' "yes" responses to Ybarra's first three questions. As can be seen from the Table, there are wide variations of "yes" responses on all three questions. With regard to the actual occurrence of the activities, the range is from 53% (writing, in maintenance schools) to 81% (reading, in declining schools). These activities might be considered as "normal" instructional role activities of principals. Percentages vary across the three groups. Principals in the maintenance group report the lowest occurrence of activities in all three subjects. Principals in the declining group report the highest occurrence of activities, also in all three subjects. The same is true for percentages of "yes" responses to question numbers 2 and 3. The relatively low actual occurrence of activities may constitute an "awareness" problem which certainly had been detected in Fuller's (1989) study.

Table 3 reveals another phenomenon. The percent of "yes" responses to question number 2 and to question number 3 are consistently lower than the percent of "yes" responses to question number 1. This is true in all cases, namely, for each subject matter and for each group of principals. It seems that principals of all groups are reporting the existence of

Table 3  
Percent of Principals' "Yes" Responses

Subject* Matter	Question	Presence of Activity in School in the Past 3-4 Years	Initiation of Activity in School as a Result of CAP Scores	Contribution of Activity in School to CAP Scores
	Principals** Group			
Reaching	Improving Schools	78	51	56
	Maintenance Schools	60	36	46
	Declining Schools	81	60	65
Writing	Improving Schools	69	47	51
	Maintenance Schools	53	43	33
	Declining Schools	77	57	60
Mathematics	Improving Schools	73	58	58
	Maintenance Schools	65	43	50
	Declining Schools	75	67	65

\*Twenty-one sets of activities in each of the three subject matters.

\*\*Sixteen "improving" schools, 8 "maintenance" schools, and 11 "declining" schools.

relations between a given set of activities and CAP scores considerably less than they report the occurrence of the activities themselves.

If these findings can be replicated with other corresponding groups of subjects, then we might be faced here with a key phenomenon. Declining school principals may be initiating more activities (Q1) because of CAP scores (Q2). They may also believe more strongly that these activities contribute to raising scores (Q3). Improving school principals also initiate (Q1) as a result of CAP scores (Q2) and believe that it helps (Q3). There are simply great similarities between the groups. Declining school principals may overstate their role with great optimism, however.

Specific open-ended answers to question number 4, which dealt with the role of the principals to intervene in instructional activities, varied primarily as a function of the specific set of activities in each one of the subject matters. Clear differences were detected among three groups of principals. This helps explain possible differences in what "improving" versus "declining" principals *do* in more *detail*. Following is a brief summary of the differences.

All 16 principals working in the improving schools, regardless of the level of school (5 high schools, 7 junior high schools, 4 elementary schools) reported perceiving the CAP scores as a problem which is pervasive to the school as a whole. They reported considerably stronger feeling about it than the few principals in the other groups who also mentioned the importance of the problem. Most of these 16 principals reported proactiveness on their part in dealing with the problem. They also reported a strong interaction between themselves and the central office of the school district as well as between themselves and the school teaching staff. These principals also seem to possess a considerable amount of knowledge pertinent to the problem. In addition, these principals appear to engage in a considerable amount of communication with staff and district people in association with these activities.

If declining principals overstate their role with great optimism, then declining principals appear to *do* more. Answers to question number 4 allow a closer focus on differences in attitudes and behavior about the problem. The contrast between the two groups may be grounded in attitudes and/or behavioral responses to the problem. One example is that the improving school principals believe that the problem is more pervasive.

Also, two sets of activities stand out in particular in improving schools. One is writing-related incentive programs. The other is the provision of specialized mathematics instructional material. In both cases principals in improving schools seem to spend quite a bit of time with these activities, even though most of them are uncertain as to how these activities contribute to CAP scores. The principals in improving schools project an image of skeptical evaluators who are unwilling to jump to conclusions about the CAP score-related activities.

Not much can be said about the role of the principals in schools whose scores were basically unchanged ("maintenance" schools). There were eight such principals in this study (two high schools, one junior high school, five elementary schools). None of these principals reported about any set of activities with a great deal of detail and substance. They did report about discussion with their teaching staffs regarding all three subjects, but they also reported, and in some detail, how little control

they have had over the CAP scores. Some of these principals also report about attending meetings at the district level, but they leave the impression that the meetings in and of themselves may have had more meaning than the substance. Overall, it seems that the role of most of these eight principals in CAP scores-related activities is considerably less significant than the corresponding role of most of the other principals—the 16 in improving schools and the 11 in declining schools.

All principals in schools with declining scores were administering elementary schools. They described their role in the implementation of the 21 sets of activities quite differently than the other principals did. These findings make up another key difference between the groups. The quantitative and qualitative terms which principals in declining schools used to describe what they do were impressive. They reported much optimism. These principals had other things in common. They all felt that factors external to the schools impact student achievement more than school-based actions do. They also reported emphasis on one-way communication and control rather than interactiveness, collaboration, and shared decision making. Like the maintenance group, they reported involvement in meetings and emphasized the events themselves rather than their substance.

### **Implications for Action Assessment**

Differences among principals' groups were detected (in each of the two studies reported here) in the extent and nature of actions which the principals take in association with different levels of student achievement. The existence of the variations between those principals' behavior is important in developing a model to assess principal performance. Thus, each of the principals' actions can constitute a potential object to be evaluated in an overall effort to assess the principals' performance. For example, significant differences were found in Fuller's (1989) study between principals in improving schools and principals in declining schools in the extent to which they gather data about the problem of student achievement as well as in the quality of the data they gather. Extent of effort to gather data and quality of data gathered, then, may become two items in an instrument which measures the performance of principals pertinent to the enhancement of student achievement. Likewise, differences were found in Ybarra's (1992) study in principals' involvement in writing-related incentive programs and in the provision of instructional material in mathematics. Thus, extent and quality of involvement of principals in each of these two areas may constitute four items in the instrument which measures principals' performance.

Specific implications of the findings in these two studies may perhaps be realized as a function of the particular purpose of the evaluation. In the case of school principals, evaluation may be done for one of the following purposes: entry to the profession, certification and licensing, selection, merit, improvement, reassignment, promotion, accountability, and termination. Of these, the purpose of accountability closely related to Fuller's rational decisionmaking model. Likewise, the purpose of improvement could easily relate to Ybarra's model of program-focused remedial activities.

Thus, in the case of assessing principals' performance for accountability as the basis of their involvement in output-related rational actions, the following evaluative items can be included: (a) becoming aware of student achievement problems; (b) recognizing the importance of the problems; (c) recognizing the pressure to solve the problems; (d) gathering pertinent data about the problems; (e) considering obstacles and opportunities to solve the problem; (f) choosing alternative solutions; (g) choosing ways to implement the chosen situations; (h) allocating resources (money, time, personnel, space) to the implementation of the problems; and (i) monitoring the implementation of the problems. It should be noted that significant differences among the two groups of principals were found in Fuller's study with regard to all of the nine items mentioned above, but only those that are pertinent to a particular situation should be used, rather than all of them.

Likewise, for improvement purposes, the instrument designed to assess principals' performance in their involvement of program-focused activities may include the following items: (a) believing that student achievement is an important and pervasive problem, (b) believing in a sufficient amount of control to improve student achievement levels, (c) acquiring and possessing a great amount of knowledge about the problem and about possible remedial programs, (d) proacting in the initiation of subject matter-focused remedial programs, (e) interacting and communicating with teaching staff and district personnel collaboratively and intensively, and (f) describing their involvement in remedial programs in detailed substantive terms. Significant differences among principals' groups were found on all of the six items mentioned above in Ybarra's study, but, again, only those which are pertinent to a particular situation should probably be used, rather than all of them.

The next stage is to seek information in relation to any or all of the nine evaluative items, depending on the choice of purpose and corresponding instrument chosen for the assessment of principals' performance. Altogether, information may be sought about principals' attitudes, perceptions, behavior, decisions, and more. Choices of data

sources should be made. These may include written material, actual behaviors and decisions, reports, and opinions of principals and others (teachers, students, district administrators, parents). Decisions about information collection and analysis will then have to be made and implemented. What follows in the case of evaluating for accountability is basically an administrative decision about the principal. What follows in the case of evaluating for improvement is feedback to the principals.

Further research of new ways to assess the performance of principals for accountability purposes can expand on Fuller's (1989) study. Further research related to assessment for improvement can expand on Ybarra's (1992) work. In both cases, the more actual differences are found in attitudes and behaviors related to student achievement problems, the easier it will be to refine the evaluative items.

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## Appendix

### QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN FULLER'S (1989) STUDY

- 1.1. Have you identified a problem in school-wide student achievement in reading, writing, and/or math on standardized tests such as CAP during the last three school years? If yes, please describe the problem.
- 1.2. Please describe how you felt about the situation when you first encountered it?
- 1.3. Who or what had a significant impact on your becoming involved with this problem?
2. How did you learn about the details of the problem?
- 3.1. How did you come to understand the causes, roots, sources, or parts of the problem? Did you probe further?
- 3.2. If you needed to know more about this problem in order to solve it, what is it that you needed to know that you did not know?
- 4.1. What had to happen that when it did, you would no longer be bothered by the problem?
- 4.2. What, if any, criteria needed to be met in order to satisfactorily solve the problem?
- 5.1. State the alternative or alternatives which you have had with respect to taking care of the problem?
- 5.2. How did you find out about the alternative or alternatives?
- 6.1. Explain how the alternative or alternatives just described might effect the problem?
- 6.2. Describe the obstacles or opportunities presented by choosing a particular course of action.
- 7.1. If applicable, how did you make a decision among the alternatives?
- 7.2. Why did you believe that this decision will be helpful in solving the problem?
- 8.1. Describe your efforts to plan how your decision for action will be carried out?
- 8.2. If applicable, what did you do to determine what needed to be done to solve the problem?
- 8.3. What, if any, resources were needed to implement your plan?
9. Describe your efforts to communicate how your plan should be carried out.
10. Describe how you knew if your plan was progressing.
11. Explain how you knew if your plan succeeded.

# Principal Assessment: Conceptual Problem, Methodological Problem, or Both?

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Recent demands calling for increased educational accountability and the restructuring of schools to solve educational problems have focused attention on the principal's role in facilitating change to produce academic improvement. An extension of external demands for improved quality of educational systems are policy decisions aimed at holding principals directly accountable for school outcomes. Unfortunately, although the number of states that mandate formal evaluation of principals has dramatically increased over the past several years (Ebmeier & Wilson, 1989), the quality of the assessments has not substantially improved (Ebmeier, 1991; Marcoulides, 1990; Marcoulides & Heck, 1992b). In fact, there continue to be significant conceptual and methodological problems associated with establishing effective principal performance evaluation methods (Ebmeier & Wilson, 1989; Heck, Larsen, & Marcoulides, 1990; Heck & Marcoulides, 1989; Pitner & Hocevar, 1987). The systematic study of principal assessment, therefore, has been slow to develop, has not experienced a high degree of systematization, and has not been guided by firmly established theoretical considerations (Glasman & Heck, this issue).

The purpose of this article is threefold: (a) to raise several conceptual and methodological issues that must be addressed in the process of developing a model of principal assessment that is theoretically

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grounded, empirically validated, and easily utilized; (b) to provide data from several studies we have completed to address some of these issues leading toward the development of evaluation models for principal assessment; and (c) to present a basic model for principal performance evaluation. The article is based on the belief that once we understand more clearly how the process of principal leadership is related to other aspects of schooling and to outcomes, then we can more clearly establish purposes and criteria for the determination of the principal's effectiveness in carrying out the role functions. Although criticisms can be raised about any attempt to measure and evaluate the conceptual components of a theory of principal leadership, we believe that there is definite usefulness to such an approach since it makes a "fuzzy" field much more accessible (Marcoulides & Heck, 1992b).

### **Some Problems in Conceptualizing the Role**

While previous research has identified a number of variables that have an effect on school academic achievement, including principal leadership, the relationship among these variables is more complex than originally thought (Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan, & Lee, 1982; Hallinger & Murphy, 1987; Heck et al., 1990). What has already been clearly established is that the context of the school shapes students' classroom experiences (Barr & Dreeban, 1983). What is less clear is how the principal as organizational leader may contribute to the linkage between the context of the school, important organizational processes, and student outcomes. A variety of substantive problems exist, therefore, which must be addressed before attempting to develop systems to assess principal performance and overall effectiveness. Undoubtedly, one major reason it has been difficult to develop effective evaluative methods has been the lack of theoretically-driven empirical research to establish and validate the appropriate domains of the principal's role and their collective effects on the school's achievement at a higher or lower academic level. In addition, previous researchers have not been sure whether the association between principal leadership and school performance represents a clear "cause-effect" relationship (Bossert et al., 1982; Heck et al., 1990).

As Murphy (1988) has argued, echoing Bridges' (1982) earlier comments about the state of research on principals, previous research has offered relatively limited strategies and perspectives for studying principals. Some early studies, however, established that several correlates of leadership are related to outcomes (e.g., Edmonds, 1980). This research indicated the importance of the principal in charting a course for the school, clarifying roles and responsibilities, and coordinating the efforts of those involved in determining appropriate improvement goals

and steps in reaching those goals. Some of the leadership variables included holding high expectations, having an achievement orientation, having a vision, and emphasizing staff participation in important decisions (see Glasman & Heck, this issue, for a summary of these findings).

### *Understanding Context, the Principal, and Outcomes*

Despite some encouraging findings about the centrality of the principal's role in promoting school effectiveness from early studies on school effects (e.g., Edmonds, 1980; Percell & Cookson, 1982), Wimpelberg, Teddlie, and Stringfield (1989) note that future research must attend not only to general characteristics of behavior or attitudes (e.g., has a vision) of school administrators, but rather to specific role responsibilities and the potential effects of varying school contextual conditions. Consequently, how the individual principal behaves may depend on his or her values and beliefs as well as organizational and political variables associated with the school and community context (e.g., district variables, school level, students' access to knowledge, community and district pressures, staff characteristics). Collectively, these sets of variables may at least partially shape principal attitudes, cognitive strategies, and behavior (see Glasman & Heck, this issue, for a discussion of how these variables may affect the principal's role).

Despite variation in how the role is conceptualized, most current theoretical models suggest that the principal's behavior does not affect the academic achievement of students directly (Boyan, 1988; Heck et al., 1990). Rather, the relationship is viewed as more indirect—focusing on such activities as developing school vision and purpose, setting school goals, communicating expectations for performance, decision making, "gatekeeping" with parents and other community interests—than direct and resulting in a trickle-down effect through classrooms that nurture student performance. As some researchers have argued (e.g., Heck et al., 1990; Leithwood, Jantzi, Silins, & Dart, this issue, part two; Witte & Walsh, 1990), school environmental factors (or out-of-school processes), in-school processes, and principal leadership all affect school academic outcomes. As Leithwood et al. note, the strongest effects of leadership appear to be on other school processes which, in turn, affect outcomes produced.

The complexity of the relationship between principal actions, the context of the school, other in-school processes, and valued student outcomes has been problematic in determining the extent to which individual principals can (and should) be held accountable for the performance of the school (Austin & Reynolds, 1990). A major need in

establishing principal assessment, then, has been understanding how context and principal leadership are related to school outcomes. The variability in contextual conditions (e.g., socioeconomic status of the community, level of the school, parent support) indicate the need to use caution in establishing principal accountability (e.g., see Hart, this issue).

### *Which Aspects of the Role to Emphasize*

A second substantive problem in developing a system to assess principal performance concerns which aspects of the role to emphasize in evaluating the administrator's contribution to school performance and effectiveness. The definition of the principal's role has changed over time and appears to be in transition currently. Early American schools had "principal teachers" who were elected, but the role then evolved toward greater attention to "scientific management" around the turn of this century. Over the past decade or so, the role has evolved from manager (Bridges, 1982), to street-level bureaucrat (Crowson & Porter-Gehrie, 1980), instructional manager (Bossert et al., 1982), instructional leader (Hallinger & Murphy, 1987), and transformational leader (Leithwood, 1992; Leithwood et al., this issue, part two), to highlight a few conceptualizations. Each view of the principal emphasizes a somewhat different set of role responsibilities that are valued. In turn, each role definition implies that a somewhat different set of activities might define principal effectiveness.

A variety of different views of the principal's role, then, begins to emerge from the existing studies on school administration. One attempt to integrate several has been made by Ebmeier (1991), who modified Parsons' (1960) original theoretical framework of organizational processes. Ebmeier notes that one way to measure and evaluate the performance of principals is along four different role domains: maintenance (monitoring the value structure of the school), adaptation (understanding and accommodating external demands), integration (organizing and coordinating the various school tasks necessary for teaching and learning), and goal attainment (achieving outcome goals such as achievement improvement). Research directed at the "instructional leadership" aspect of the role over the past decade has tended to emphasize what principals do to enhance integration and goal attainment. The "transformational leadership" role of the principal might be seen to focus more on maintenance and adaptation, or what Leithwood (1992) has called "second-order" changes aimed at building shared vision, improved communication and collaborative decision-making processes.

Beyond differences in how the role has been conceptualized, previous

research has focused on a wide variety of "units of analysis" and identified differences in principals' attitudes, behavior (Andrews & Soder, 1987; Hallinger & Murphy, 1986; Heck et al., 1990), and cognitive abilities (e.g., Glasman, 1992; Leithwood & Stager, 1989) that appear to be related to differences in the types of outcomes schools produce. Translating these different aspects of what is studied into that which can be observed and judged represents another challenge for the development of effective performance evaluations. For example, while attitudes or traits may be correlated with school outcomes, they are more difficult to defend as important indicators of principal effectiveness. In addition, attitudes are difficult to quantify. Decision-making and problem-solving ability are certainly important aspects of the principal's role, yet there are also problems associated with how to observe what are essentially internal processes. In our own research (e.g., Heck, 1992a; Heck et al., 1990; Heck, Marcoulides, & Lang, 1991; Marcoulides & Heck, 1992a), we have tended to emphasize leadership behavior related to time and quality, because it presents somewhat fewer problems in terms of observing and quantifying the data.

In developing procedures to assess principal performance, therefore, decisions must be made about what substantive aspects of the principal's role on which to focus for evaluation purposes. These choices will necessarily determine the type of criteria developed, how the performance is observed and measured, and how the data collected will be judged and utilized relative to evaluation purposes. From our perspective, one way to do this is to assess how the principal may contribute, both directly and indirectly, to the processes through which the school is governed, how it is organized instructionally, and how the climate of the school is developed. In turn, we believe that these broad domains are related to the school's attainment of goals in terms of academic achievement (Heck et al., 1990; Heck et al., 1991; Marcoulides & Heck, 1992c).

### Some Methodological Problems

#### *Problems With Early Research*

While previous research has provided evidence to indicate that principal leadership is correlated with school outcomes, only recently have attempts been made to estimate the effects of more theoretically complex models on school outcomes (e.g., Hallinger, Bickman, & Davis, 1989; Heck et al., 1990; Leithwood et al., this issue, part two; Rowan, Raudenbush, & Kan, 1991). The first studies on school effects most often examined correlates of principal attitudes or behavior and student

achievement. Such univariate analyses were difficult to interpret, however, because they failed to consider intercorrelations among predictor variables (Tatsuoka & Silver, 1988). As Rowan, Bossert, and Dwyer (1983) noted, measures of school demographic composition, organization, school effects, and achievement are all correlated, so it has been difficult to unravel and isolate the effects of any particular set from the others. More recently, researchers have begun to unravel some of these complexities (e.g., Heck et al., 1990; Rowan et al., 1991; Witte & Walsh, 1990). For example, Rowan et al. (1991) have looked at within- and between-school effects on school climate using hierarchical linear modeling. Heck et al. (1990) have examined school effects using structural equation modeling. In addition, others have begun to look at work relationships between teachers and principals (e.g., Hart, 1991; Smylie, 1992), as well as dimensions of classroom teaching that may differ in effective versus ineffective schools (Reynolds, 1988; Teddlie, Kirby, & Stringfield, 1989; Virgilio, Teddlie, & Oescher, 1991).

### *Narrow Samples of Schools*

Most early research on the principal's role also typically centered on a narrow sample of schools—urban elementary schools in large districts (Rowan et al., 1983). This limitation generally precluded the systematic study of the influence of a wide spectrum of organizational conditions on principal leadership and other school processes. Furthermore, studies often used the outlier strategy which compared the best schools with the worst. Observed effects in this type of analysis are likely to be the largest, as opposed to effects observed in more "average" types of school conditions. The recent trend has been toward including a wider sample of schools that include average schools (e.g., Heck, 1992a; Leithwood et al., this issue, part two; Witte & Walsh, 1990).

### *Problems With Instruments*

Another methodological problem encountered in attempting to evaluate principal performance is commonly found in the instruments used to measure performance (Pitner & Hocevar, 1987). As Rowan and Denk (1984) have noted, there is a lack of theory guiding the development of instruments to measure leadership effectiveness, as well as demonstrated psychometric qualities of existing instruments. Often the instruments are constructed in a manner that makes it difficult to measure actual job performance (Marcoulides, 1988). For example, a supervisor, or less often, teachers, may be asked to judge principal performance

traits that are not really job related, that is, consistent with what is required of a principal actually performing in the day-to-day role of school leader. In other cases, instruments do not allow the observer to discriminate on the basis of actual observation. The supervisor, or teacher, may be asked to rate principals as "below average," "average," "above average," or "superior" without any operational definitions of what these terms actually mean or on what observation they should be used (Berger, 1983). There exists, therefore, a problem with the psychometric qualities of commonly determined principal performance measures (Marcoulides & Heck, 1992b).

Current evaluation practices, then, have generally been inadequate for the kinds of purposes for which decision makers would like to collect information about the principal. Broadly speaking, we might group these purposes into the more formative in nature (i.e., with individual improvement as a goal) versus the more summative (i.e., with retention, tenure, or merit pay as possible goals). With respect to administrative decision making, Stufflebeam et al. (1971) note that the type of evaluation might also vary, depending upon what parts of the decision-making process one might be interested in knowing about. It would appear unwise, therefore, to continue to base decisions about employment advancement or salary compensation, for example, on the current methods of evaluation in use in the overwhelming majority of school districts today.

We propose that a model of principal evaluation can be developed that is relatively easy to use and that would yield reliable and valid information about the principal's role. In the next section of this article we focus on synthesizing several recent research studies we have undertaken to identify some parameters of the principal's role that appear to be related to school effectiveness across a variety of school contexts, and some attempts to develop and validate evaluation instruments that use psychometrically sound data collection and analytic procedures.

### Synthesizing Some Research Studies

#### *Outlining a Set of Assumptions*

The development of useful systems of principal assessment becomes a critical need in promoting educational accountability in restructured schools. In developing such systems, we have argued that choices must be made about what aspects of the role to emphasize and how to measure those aspects using sound psychometric procedures in relation

to identified purposes of evaluation. We believe that such decisions should only be made after the consideration of empirical research. Leadership is a difficult concept to examine and numerous arguments have been presented in the literature concerning our ability to observe and measure it. We believe that if we are to study the concept of principal leadership seriously, we must adopt a systematic approach that enables researchers to identify those dimensions and variables that are amenable to empirical measurement and hypothesis testing. Nevertheless, any discussion of determining the parameters of principal leadership that can be used to assess principal effectiveness must begin with some realistic admissions of inadequacy.

As Mackenzie (1986) indicates, because society and hence organizations are continually evolving, there is really no universal paradigm or theory for examining leader behavior that is valid in all contexts. In addition, proposed theories often become problematic when they attempt to model the actual detail of the complexity of interrelationships between organizational processes. Clearly, concerns can be raised about any attempt to quantify and measure the conceptual components of a theory of principal leadership. However, as previously indicated, while this reduction of reality can be considered a limitation, there is a definite usefulness to such an approach because it makes a field that has lacked appropriate instruments and procedures to evaluate performance somewhat more accessible (Marcoulides & Heck, 1992a, 1992b).

The role of the principal is acknowledged to be a very complex one. As the leader of the school, the principal is in a unique organizational position to be in contact with a diverse network of agencies and individuals. However, given the structural similarities of organizations, it seems reasonable that at a minimum some relatively generic and finite set of leadership activities is required to manage these institutions. Effective leadership, therefore, may well emerge as the result of principals' abilities to tune their actions to the needs and givens of their contexts.

While we could focus on principals' attitudes or cognitive strategies, we have chosen to focus on their behavior because it is easier to operationalize and measure. We selected behavior related to goal attainment as an object of focus because of its centrality to external demands for educational accountability. This is not to suggest, however, that there are not other aspects of the principal's role that may also be predictive of other types of outcomes (e.g., see Leithwood et al., this issue, part two, for one such study). Following, we highlight some empirical evidence we have accumulated that links increased time principals devote to certain aspects of leadership and higher school outcomes.

### *An Overview of Our Studies*

Recently, in a series of studies (Heck, 1992a, 1992b; Heck et al., 1990; Heck et al., 1991; Heck & Marcoulides, 1990) we have attempted to test and confirm a causal model of some important leadership actions that contribute, at least indirectly, to school achievement using structural equation modeling. Building on previous theory (e.g., Bossert et al., 1982; Hallinger & Murphy, 1987; Kottcamp, Mulhern, & Hoy, 1987; Pitner & Hocevar, 1987), we hypothesized that three underlying domains of principal leadership can help explain school academic performance. These domains include how the school is governed, how school climate and culture are developed and maintained, and the manner in which the school is organized for instructional purposes.

While the principal's control over these domains is not absolute, we believe that relative to some other exogenous variables associated with the school's environment (e.g., socioeconomic status of the community, student language background, other student intake variables), these are in-school processes that can be more easily manipulated by organizational leaders. Using several different research settings (California, the Marshall Islands in the Pacific, and Singapore) and two different instruments, we operationalized 22 important variables relating principal and teacher interactions in these three domains. We then were able to estimate the relative effects of these domains in explaining levels of school academic performance, where such evidence has not always been readily apparent. Overall, we found that both the observed variables and the underlying domains appear to differentiate quite well among high-achieving, average, and low-achieving schools. In fact, we also recently found similar results in a study focusing on a variety of profit and nonprofit organizations that might have implications for education (Marcoulides & Heck, 1992a). In summary, the results of these studies indicate that a more democratic type of organizational governance (i.e., involving staff in important types of decisions through promoting collaboration and teamwork) appears to predict higher performance in both business and education. Furthermore, these higher performing organizations appear to have more cohesive social relations and more effective task organization (for further discussion, see Heck et al., 1990; Heck & Marcoulides, 1990; Marcoulides & Heck, 1992a).

We have also attempted to unravel some of the possible effects of contextual conditions by a variety of means. These include controlling important contextual indicators and examining differences among organizations, measuring and estimating the effects of contextual indicators on leadership processes and outcomes, testing our models across a

variety of organizational variables, and using different cultural settings. Studies conducted in other contexts and cultural settings may be an effective means of increasing our theoretical understanding of how principal leadership practices affect school processes. We found that principal leadership is:

... one variable in a conceptual framework that recognizes the importance of the school's social context in determining student achievement. . . . How the principal and teachers are able to organize and coordinate the work life of the school shapes not only the learning experiences and achievement of students, but also the environment in which this work is carried out. (Heck et al., 1990, p. 122)

The results of these studies do not suggest or promote that principal leadership is the only variable that makes a difference in school outcomes. On the contrary, we believe it is one of many variables associated with school performance. These findings, therefore, should not be viewed as suggesting that principals "cause" high or low school achievement; rather, that principal leadership is one necessary condition. As Leithwood et al. (this issue, part two) note, other in-school processes contribute more directly to outcomes, for example, classroom structures (Barr & Dreeban, 1983), teaching practices (Teddlie et al., 1991), teacher attitudes (Heck, 1992a), and resource allocation (Bossert, 1988). The role of the principal, however, cannot be dismissed as unimportant because of its linkage to both the external environment and directly to in-school processes (i.e., governance, instructional organization, and social relationships). Therefore, we believe that in and of itself, principal leadership is not a *sufficient* condition to produce high outcomes, but if high outcomes are to be produced, it is a *necessary* condition. While we agree with Leithwood et al. (this issue, part two) that one would not wish to put all of the school improvement eggs in one leadership basket, any discussion of strategies to promote school-level reform that establishes accountability and improves educational outcomes must include the role of the principal as a key element.

We argue in several of these studies that one of the major obstacles identified in previous research (e.g., Blank, 1987; Pitner & Hocevar, 1987) has been partially removed in the search to develop effective evaluation of principal performance: the operationalization and validation of some important parameters of principal leadership that affect school processes related to performance outcomes. Any model proposed is not the whole view of reality. This is an important notion to keep in mind, because we do not want anyone to confuse what we are saying with creating a new professional evaluation "monster." For example, a variety of warnings

have been raised regarding teacher accountability for student outcomes, when several important variables that affect learning may be beyond their control. Thus the "necessary but not sufficient" idea should always be kept in mind because there are many variables involved in the process of producing school learning outcomes. However, at least the partial removal of the obstacle of identifying some important parameters of leadership should lead to the development of methods to evaluate the effectiveness of school principals, especially with respect to the guiding of the school toward the attainment of valued goals. In general, based upon our studies, what appears to distinguish effective and ineffective principals is the amount and quality of attention given to the three domains previously outlined. Thus, some principals overattend to job tasks that are not strongly associated with improving the school's academic performance and ultimately fail (Heck et al., 1990; Heck, 1992a, 1992b).

### *Developing Psychometrically Sound Procedures*

The next concern should address the development of psychometrically sound procedures for evaluating principal effectiveness in performing various aspects of the role that are related to school performance. Using a psychometric model referred to as generalizability (G) theory (Cronbach, Gleser, Nanda, & Rajaratnam, 1972; Marcoulides & Mills, 1986, 1988), we attempted to demonstrate how a wealth of information about the psychometric quality of performance measures can be obtained (Marcoulides & Heck, 1992b). A variety of criticisms were raised for what can best be described as "placing the appraisal cart before a theoretical horse."

### *Criticism to Our Approach*

Overall, the critics generally provided at least three reasons for their objections:

1. Does one empirical study (i.e., Heck et al., 1990) validate a model?
2. Does it make sense to assume that the same leadership behaviors exercised in an affluent suburban school would be the same ones to use in an inner city school? Shouldn't we be sure that the model on which the measurement is based has been tested in the various contexts in which principals work and govern before the measurement procedure is developed?

3. Is the model on which the measurement is based complete? We have not yet defined the horse; the cart must wait! The stakes are high: We at least owe those affected by the results a well-researched model which has been tested and retested in various contexts.

We could not agree with these criticisms any better than we could have so eloquently stated them. As a consequence, and given that we originally proposed the use of this model as one possible means to measure outcome-based evaluation, it is incumbent upon us to provide evidence of its validity through discussing some of our research findings in relation to developing a means of beginning to assess principals based on performance-related criteria.

### **Issues of Validity**

Of the many approaches to validity that have been discussed in the literature, construct validity is the most general and can be considered to include all others (Cronbach, 1971). According to the American Psychological Association, the American Educational Research Association, and the National Council on Measurement in Education's Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing (1984), a construct is a "theoretical idea developed to explain and to organize some aspects of existing knowledge," and construct validity occurs "when one evaluates a test or other set of operations in light of the specified construct" (pg. 23). Cronbach and Meehl (1955) also summarized construct validity as taking place "when an investigator believes that his (or her) instrument reflects a particular construct, to which are attached certain meanings. The proposed interpretation generates specific testable hypotheses, which are a means of confirming or disconfirming the claim" (pg. 255). In essence, therefore, these definitions imply an inferential approach to construct validity, one in which a statement of confidence in a measure is made (Marcoulides, 1989).

The notion of construct validity is not a new one. It originated in the 1950s as an attempt to broaden the conceptualization of the validation process of psychological tests and measures (Bentler, 1978). Throughout this attempt, different researchers have called for many types of validation as evidence of construct validity. These include content validity, criterion-related validity, convergent validity, divergent or discriminant validity, and experimental validity (Boruch, Larkin, Wolins, & MacKinney, 1970; Campbell, 1976; Campbell & Fiske, 1959; Marcoulides, 1989). In addition, a considerable number of researchers have proposed statistical methods that can be used to assess the degree of validity in a set of

measurements. Campbell and Fiske (1959), for example, in a classic reference, developed the multitrait-multimethod approach for establishing construct validity. More recently, Marsh and Hocevar (1983) demonstrated the application of confirmatory factor analysis to construct validation. In addition, Kane (1983) and Marcoulides (1989) demonstrated the application of generalizability (G) theory to construct validity. For the interested reader who does not wish to wade through all of these pages, a summary is provided by Suen (1991).

In each of our studies, we identified the important parameters of principal leadership *a priori* (by proposing a structural model of how the observed variables in each of our instruments *should* be related to our underlying theoretical constructs), and then validating the proposed model with actual data using Marsh and Hocevar's (1983), Kane's (1983), and Marcoulides' (1989) data-analytic techniques. In each case, the confirmed model fit the hypothesized model quite well, using available statistical tests of model fit. These results suggest that the 22 observed variables are good indicators of the 3 domains they were hypothesized to measure (with reliability and validity coefficients ranging from .84 to .93).

Another approach used to examine construct validity is to conduct a test of model invariance across groups. When group differences are considered, assumptions are generally made that the constructs being measured are similar for all groups examined. If constructs measured, in fact, are not similar across groups examined, this failure to measure the same construct may be either an indication of the lack of construct validity of the measurement, or an indication that the groups are different. Thus, comparative studies involving different groups yield not only information about potential group differences, but additional insight into the construct validity of measures. In the methodological literature, data analyses of this type are generally referred to as testing the invariance of a proposed theoretical model (Heck & Marcoulides, 1989). Statistical procedures for examining the invariance of constructs are part of a more general class of models called structural equation models. The most widely used model, LISREL (Joreskog, 1971), is known by the computer program which is used to analyze the structural models, although others are gaining in popularity (e.g., EQS, LISCOMP).

One of the objectives of our research on principals has been to attempt to establish our model's construct validity across a variety of organizational settings and groups. The value of a proposed model is greatly enhanced if the same model can be replicated in subsamples of the same population, and also if it can be identified in responses from different

populations (Cattell, 1962). To this end, while our model tests are not yet complete, we have nonetheless established some similarities in our proposed model across some organizational variables (e.g., school level, school size), some contextual indicators (e.g., socioeconomic and language backgrounds of students, teacher characteristics such as experience and expectations), and several cultural settings (e.g., Singapore, California, Marshall Islands, Hawaii). What remains is to assemble all of the "pieces" of a rather complex puzzle. In addition, our various model tests (Heck, 1992a, 1992b; Heck, et al., 1991) have demonstrated relatively accurate predictive validity (i.e., substantially better than chance) in discriminating among low-, average-, and high-achieving schools. Since validation is in reality an ongoing process, this evidence can be seen as extending the construct validity of our leadership domains.

### **Issues of Reliability**

It is clear that in performance assessment validity should be considered more important than reliability, since a precise estimate of the wrong behavior is less useful than a relatively imprecise estimate of the intended behavior. Therefore, while validity can be seen as the most important issue concerned with measuring performance, the reliability of an assessment is an interrelated issue which must also be addressed. This is especially so since the reliability of a measurement can place a ceiling on the validity of a measurement. In fact, we believe this issue must be given serious consideration in any meaningful attempts to measure principal effectiveness in a scientific manner.

Recently, we have proposed a behavioral measurement model that can be used to develop reliable measurements about principal job performance using an approach called generalizability (G) theory (Marcoulides & Heck, 1992b). Generalizability theory is the theory of the multifaceted errors of behavioral measurement. The conceptual framework of G theory is that "an investigator asks about the precision or reliability of a measure because he (or she) wishes to generalize from the observation at hand to some class of observations to which it belongs" (Cronbach et al., 1972). The model has recently been applied to a wide variety of performance assessments including student performance of concrete, problem-solving tasks (Shavelson, Baxter, & Pine, 1992). In principal assessment, the universe to which one wishes to generalize relates to how well the principal is performing on the job. Generalizability, then, is the extent to which one can generalize from some set of performance measures to the actual job. The model gives the investigator great

control over specifying various facets of the measurement which can be allowed to change without making the observation unacceptable or unreliable.

If the investigator wants to generalize teachers' ratings of the principal over occasions, for example, and teachers' observations might be expected to fluctuate from one occasion to another, then multiple occasions would need to be included in the measurement procedure. Additionally, other sources of variation might be expected due to the items comprising the series of measurements, and/or the teachers themselves. Of course, we would like to know a principal's average score over all combinations of possible facets and conditions. This "universe" score of a principal, however, can only be estimated; therefore, the use of different occasions, raters, and items might introduce unwanted error into the measurement of principal performance. The basic philosophy of G theory, therefore, is to separate the real (expected) variability from the error (unwanted) variability in performance measurements. The potential sources of error contribute to the inaccuracy (or unreliability) of a measurement, thereby limiting one's ability to generalize about the performance from a set of observations.

In our analyses of subsets of our data (Marcoulides & Heck, 1992b), we estimated potential sources of error in the measurements of principal performance compiled by teachers rating their principal. These studies were carried out to determine preliminarily how many occasions and raters might be needed in a typical school to provide reliable data about the principal's performance leading to integration and goal attainment. In our studies items were not considered to constitute error variation—we expect the principal to perform each task somewhat differently (see Marcoulides & Heck, 1992b, for further discussion). We hypothesized that teacher ratings and occasions of measurement, however, are potential sources of error and found that generally teachers' ratings are a substantial source of error (about 20%), while occasions are a relatively small source of error (less than 4.0%). These results indicate that teachers vary as individuals in how they perceive the principal's performance (which may in fact be indicative of "real" differences in how the principal behaves toward individual faculty members), and their ratings are stable over time.

It appears, therefore, that for most typical schools the number of teachers providing the rating will have the greatest effect on generalizability, and not occasions; thus, reliable measures of performance can actually be obtained from one occasion of measurement. Using this approach, one could then develop an effective procedure to monitor the principal's performance over time, setting specific goals and a reasonable

time line as part of the supervision process. Progress could be readily checked periodically with measurements that have demonstrated sound psychometric properties. The procedure thus allows flexibility in determining a design to collect performance data relative to established evaluation criteria within desired acceptable limits of measurement reliability.

### **Utility of Performance Assessments**

For assessments about the principal's performance to be useful, they must be easily administered, tap important theoretical constructs of the role, and provide valid and reliable data that can be used by decision makers for established purposes. In this way, policymakers or others charged with principal supervision can see where the school is in relation to goals, and how the district can support and enhance the principal's job effectiveness. In this manner, assessing principal effectiveness can become a means for the district or school to learn about its mission, values, and performance (Glasman & Heck, this issue).

It is our belief that any evaluation model that tries to capture all of the subtleties of the role, and operationalize all of the day-to-day activities of the principal, is doomed to failure. Therefore, a more basic question is: Can we tap into the organizational reality of the school to measure some of the important indicators that are related to school performance? As Boyan (1988) argues, principals appear to affect both the governance structure and work structure of schools. Working within that framework, we hypothesized three domains (school governance, school climate/culture, and school organization) of principal intervention that are related to school performance, operationalized this model with over 20 indicators, and managed to confirm this model in a variety of settings. We have identified perhaps some of the important aspects of principal leadership; however, it should be obvious that these are not the only ones.

Whether we use more process-oriented, qualitative assessment methods (e.g., Hart, this issue) or more summative, quantitative methods, as we have proposed in this article, it seems reasonable to conclude that there is a non-chance relationship between various tasks in which the principal and others in the school engage (e.g., strategies used to identify and solve school problems), the quality and time devoted to these tasks, and the school's performance profile. Clearly, the identification and operationalization of these tasks for assessment purposes should best be viewed as an ongoing process. This ongoing process should be viewed as evolving, involving a variety of variables and including different means of measuring these variables (e.g., direct observation, super-

visory ratings, teacher ratings). What should be clear, however, is that we are not advocating the use of a "checklist" approach whereby 20 or 30 items are listed, and those that have the most are judged to be the best.

### Implications for Policy Development

While systematic evaluation of principal effectiveness has been slow to develop, it is evident that the dependability of the evaluation of principal performance can be enhanced by attention to empirical research and careful design of measurement procedures. Although methodological problems have been barriers in the past, the utilization of multitrait-multimethod approaches to data analysis makes it possible to take some first steps in the right direction for assessing principal performance. We acknowledge that the model of principal leadership used in our studies to identify dimensions of the principal's role that are related to school outcomes may be influenced to a greater or lesser extent by contextual factors. In addition, we readily accept the necessarily incomplete nature of any model that attempts to reduce the complexity of organizational life to a finite series of measured variables focusing on principal behavior. However, despite these effects of context and limitations in our ability to model the richness of organizational life, we believe that the evaluation procedures described in this article are flexible enough to allow policymakers to develop assessment models that can be useful in collecting and judging a wide variety of information about how the principal performs in his or her role. Thus, our model is consistent with the goals of improving services to students and society established by the Joint Committee on Standards for Educational Evaluation (1988) in four broad categories: propriety, utility, feasibility, and accuracy. Perhaps the greatest contribution of our proposed approaches for assessing performance lies in their ability to model a remarkably wide array of conditions and applications.

Whatever theory we use to frame our observations, and whatever aspects of the role we choose to measure, we can provide psychometrically sound observations of performance. If the principal is effectively carrying out his or her responsibilities in governing the school, organizing the school for instruction, and building school culture, then our method of evaluation will be able to reflect this superior performance. In fact, our evaluation model can provide a means of summative evaluation for the policymaker interested in establishing a "minimum competency" level in providing school leadership. On the other hand, for the more formative minded policymaker, principals can be evaluated by looking separately at their performance in each of the given leader-

ship constructs in the model. In this manner, relative strengths and weaknesses in providing leadership may be identified and remediated.

Clearly, there are cycles of educational reform, and these cycles have implications for the manner in which organizational roles are conceptualized, how the evaluation of organizational performance is perceived, as well as the techniques through which this evaluation is carried out and the meaning or judgments attached to the data collected. For example, the Chicago restructuring plan effectively re-allocates governance power from professional administrators at the top of the system to site principals, who are directly accountable in terms of their job performance to the local school council (comprised primarily by parents and community). Such committees have greater responsibility for the day-to-day operations of the school including increased input into instruction, budget, and assessment as well as authority to hire and fire principals and teachers who are not performing.

For the 1990s, those responsible for evaluating principal leadership effectiveness will have to cope with the issues of public and governmental emphases upon accountability, cost containment, and productivity in the expenditure of public funds. With the movement toward restructuring the local school to increase parent control in personnel matters, the reliability and validity of principal performance measures becomes a significant issue. Creating effective performance evaluations that deal with these issues (and will hold up against legal appeal) becomes an even greater challenge.

Unfortunately, relatively little attention has been directed at studying the effects of these overall reform measures over time. It is our belief that if money and time are being put into programs and academies to train professionals, then we must determine whether these professionals perform better as a result of these efforts. If the nation's educational system is to continue to carry out its responsibilities to its citizens, it is critical to be able to determine the effectiveness of those that monitor the educational programs and personnel.

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# New Ways to Assess the Performance of School Principals, Part II

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# PEABODY JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

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# Editor's Note

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*Naftaly S. Glasman*

This issue is the second of two parts of *New Ways to Assess the Performance of School Principals*. The first part appeared in the Volume 68, No. 1, Fall 1992 issue of *Peabody Journal of Education*, and included the following:

Glasman, N. S., and Heck, R. H., "The Changing Leadership Role of the Principal: Implications for Principal Assessment";  
Duke, D. L., and Iwanicki, E., "Principal Assessment and the Notion of 'Fit'";  
Hart, A. W., "The Social and Organizational Influence of Principals: Evaluating Principals in Context";  
Ginsberg, R., and Thompson, T., "Dilemmas and Solutions Regarding Principal Evaluation";  
Snyder, J., and Ebmeier, H., "Empirical Linkages Among Principal Behaviors and Intermediate Outcomes: Implications for Principal Evaluation";  
Glasman, N. S., "Toward Assessing Test Score-Related Actions of Principals"; and  
Heck, R. H., and Marcoulides, G. A., "Principal Assessment: Conceptual Problem, Methodological Problem, or Both?"

This concluding issue begins with Rallis and Goldring's article, which deals with assessing principals within the context of school-based accountability. Their article is the last of four (the first three appeared in the last issue) which focus on outcome-based assessment.

The next two articles in this issue focus on standard-based assessment. Stufflebeam and Nevo outline new directions for evaluating principals. They provide a theoretical framework for evaluation tasks, review recent developments, and offer suggestions for application. Glasman and Martens present a study of the use of evaluation standards in principal assessment systems in some school districts.

Smylie and Crowson's article is the first of three which focus on structure-based assessment. In their study, the authors explore the con-

sequences of new systems of decision making and governance for the assessment of principals. The article by Leithwood, Jantzi, Silins, and Dart is the second. These Canadian authors examine the appraisal of principals as an instrument for educational restructuring. The Australians Clayton-Jones, McMahon, Rodwell, Skehan, Bourke, and Holbrook provide the third contribution, which deals with performance appraisal of principals in a governmental agency.

The issue's last article, by Heck and Glasman, summarizes both issues and provides an integrating framework for them. The thrust of this framework is on the merger between evaluation and administration, particularly within the recently intensifying political context of education.

# Beyond the Individual Assessment of Principals: School-Based Accountability in Dynamic Schools

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*Sharon F. Rallis*

*Ellen B. Goldring*

## Abstract

Principals of truly restructured schools are principals who have chosen to deal positively and directly with complex forces impacting all schools today. These principals shape dynamic schools that are actively involved in many school improvement efforts. Principals in these schools behave differently than their colleagues in traditional schools; therefore, evaluating their work requires a different approach.

In this article, we discuss the forces that are changing the role of principals and that are leading to the emergence of dynamic schools, and explore the implications of the new image of the principalship for principal evaluation. The analysis presented suggests that the evaluation should include both individual and school-based components following the ways in which work and tasks are organized in dynamic schools. The proposed evaluation is an on-going collaborative effort that itself becomes a key strategy for school improvement.

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This article is adapted from a chapter in the authors' forthcoming book, *Principals of Dynamic Schools: Taking Charge of Change*. Newbury Park, CA: Corwin-Sage.

## Introduction

Principals in recently restructured schools have new and varied roles. Much of their work involves developing professional relationships with new types of teachers who are empowered to carry out many of the tasks previously relegated to the principals. In restructured schools, principals who were once responsible for program administration are now charged with facilitating, enabling, motivating, and coordinating the empowered professionals in their buildings. In addition, principals in restructured schools are changing their relationships with external communities and constituencies. They are becoming flag bearers and enterprising external leaders, as well as boundary spanners, as they coordinate the total school environment.

Principals of truly restructured schools are principals who have chosen to deal positively and directly with the complex forces impacting schools today. Rather than allow these forces to drive their schools, they are using the forces to shape their schools to be dynamic schools. Dynamic schools are schools that are involved in many changes geared toward total school improvement. Dynamic schools are schools that are actively involved in change efforts that make a difference. Principals in these schools behave differently than their colleagues in traditional schools; therefore, evaluating their work requires a different approach.

This article discusses the forces impacting schools today which are changing the role of principals and leading to the emergence of dynamic schools, and explores the implications of the new image of the principalship for principal evaluation. The analysis presented in this article suggests that principals should be assessed individually regarding their leadership processes, while outcomes should rely on school-based evaluation. This conceptualization follows the way in which the work and tasks are organized in dynamic schools. Since the underlying philosophy of dynamic schools recognizes teamwork and school-based responsibility, evaluation must include both individual and school-based components.

In the first section of this article we present the forces behind the emergence of dynamic schools. Next, we lay the groundwork for our alternative design for evaluating principals of dynamic schools by reviewing past practices of administrative evaluation and outlining our view of evaluation and accountability in schools that have chosen to work toward improvement. We then describe in more detail our proposed evaluation approach.

### Forces Behind the Emergence of Dynamic Schools

New and complex forces are at play in the emergence of dynamic schools and their principals. These forces, coming from both inside and outside the school, are placing totally different demands on the principal. By examining the forces which influence principals of dynamic schools, the proposed evaluation plan for principals will be clearer.

Specifically, we believe that five major forces, some internal to the school and some external, have impacted on the principalship and that these forces are responsible for the emergence of dynamic schools. These forces are made up of the following: (a) teachers are becoming teacher-leaders, (b) student bodies are more diverse with variant needs, (c) parents have become more vocal and action-oriented advocates, (d) the social and technological contexts of schools are more complex, and (e) federal and state governments are mandating restructuring activities and standards.

The most immediate force affecting principals of dynamic schools may be the teachers. As a body, whether through collective bargaining or through informal or formal collaborative decision-making, and as individuals who have direct contact with students in their classrooms, teachers shape the daily operations of the school. Principals of dynamic schools must put forth major efforts to activate and entice teachers to be motivated and committed to change efforts. Teachers are the agents of change—without them, implementation cannot take hold and change cannot occur. Teachers who feel that their contributions are recognized, and that they are involved in the definition of school norms and culture, are a positive force for the school and for the principal. These teachers press for school improvement and growth.

Principals in dynamic schools encourage teacher-leadership. Teacher-leadership is expected to reinforce teacher motivation to contribute to school improvement. However, mobilizing teachers to assume leadership roles is not an easy prospect. Principals of dynamic schools are willing and able to sustain leadership in a wide range of people and roles. These principals encourage teachers to go beyond their traditional roles and to function as counselors and managers (Shedd & Bacharach, 1991). They empower teachers to make decisions and act in a manner they see as appropriate. In response, these teachers view themselves as possessing a body of knowledge and skills which they use to serve their clients, their students. They see themselves as professionals more than mere workers. They take credit for the school's focus and progress, while at the same time acknowledging the principal's role in empower-

ing them. Although they do not hold formally identified leadership roles, they are leaders. Given the complexity of the school context as teachers become empowered leaders, the principal's role must change.

Another force impacting on schools is the diversity of the student body and the variant and pressing needs students bring with them. This diversity carries many opportunities as well as challenges. The changing demographics of our nation are evident in our schools' student bodies, which reflect an array of colors, languages, and national heritages. This multicultural cornucopia can provide a rich resource to a school if the principal and teachers can recognize and tap into the riches. Doing so, however, can be a challenge. The school can serve as a primary opportunity for socialization, but as student diversity increases, the task becomes more difficult and the outcome more unpredictable.

Diversity in schools is not limited to cultural, racial, or ethnic diversity. The changing structural and economic characteristics of households contributes another dimension. This form of diversity brings children with more hidden needs—emotional, social, and economic needs. Associated with this diversity in race, ethnicity, gender, and family structure is a greater tendency toward poverty. Furthermore, recognition in the mid-1970s of one of the largest groups of minorities has changed schools in yet another way. The adoption of P.L. 94-142 in 1976 identified the handicapped student as an integral part of the student body, and made the local school responsible for serving the multiple and variant needs of all children with handicaps. Today's principal is recognized as the major player in coordinating these services.

The awareness of the needs, rights, and contributions of the various groups introduces a vast set of demands and expectations on curricular, as well as extracurricular, offerings and on those who lead schools. Today's principals must expand their roles to deal with these issues.

A third force which impacts on schools today is the parents. Public school principals are being called upon to be more responsive to their parent clienteles. Most reform efforts, such as school-based management and schools of public choice, have a heavy parental involvement component. These calls are evolving, in part, in response to three trends. One trend is the research on school effectiveness that maintains that parental participation is an important component of the "effective school" (Clark, Lotto, & McCarthy, 1980). A second element that has contributed to the view that principals should be urged to establish closer relationships with the parental community is the strong assertion, in theory and practice, that educational organizations are interconnected with their environments (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). The boundaries of schools are very permeable, and principals, as boundary-spanning

incumbents, are forced to link the internal functioning of the school and the environment (see Thompson, 1967). The third trend that supports increased principal-parent contact is the recent, expanding literature on the relative superiority of private schools as compared to public schools (Coleman & Hoffer, 1986). One explanation offered to account for this difference is the nature of school-parent interactions in the respective sectors.

In the new realities created by the reform movement, the borders between schools and their communities are becoming increasingly open. Principals are no longer only in charge of their own school organization, but must also contend with the parents, a vocal force both in and out of the school.

A fourth force changing schools is their social context. Schools are highly embedded in the social context of their surrounding communities and this social context has a tremendous impact on the school and the principal. Looking at the social fabric of society we see a picture of families with diverse structures, employment arrangements, racial and ethnic backgrounds, health care needs, and support systems, all of which are placing new demands on schools and placing principals in a pivotal role in meeting a wider array of community needs. The social context no longer resembles white, Anglo-Saxon, rural Protestant America (Murphy & Beck, *in press*). Schools can no longer close their doors to their surrounding communities. A good example of the new demands being placed on schools as they are expected to help with the "total" needs of children are coordinated-integrated services, such as health, nutrition, or counseling, which are connected to many schools.

The social context of schools is also changing in relation to economic realities. Incidents of school closings due to lack of funding and major education budget cuts are not rare. The economic crises facing school systems are mirrored in society at large as problems of the global world economy impact on the United States and its educational system. The rapidly changing job market requires changes in the ways in which students are prepared. Students need to know how to interact with technology and they must change their thinking patterns to those of independent problems solvers. The electronic classroom is just one essential aspect of meeting these demands and pressures. Other changes include teaching foreign languages, and promoting interdisciplinary programs (Cromer, 1984).

Technology also has important implications for principals as leaders and managers. To be part of the global economy, prepare students for future careers, and meet the needs of a changing family clientele, schools are being required to adapt to a new era. Principals, as leaders of these

institutions, are crucial mediators between their schools and these new demands by the external context.

Mandated reform efforts are the fifth force impacting on schools. As the national educational reform movement moves into its second decade, the emphasis is shifting to the local school, its organization, and its delivery of services to the child. Districts choosing to restructure their schools are decentralizing using site-based management and other tools to bring the locus of decision-making closer to the point of contact between the teacher and student. But, as Murphy (1991) notes, "State and federal government agencies continue to ensnarl schools in ever-expanding webs of regulations and prescriptions" (p. 42). Thus, restructuring and reform have created a paradox for school leaders: On the one hand, they are being urged to take matters into their own hands; at the same time, state regulations are removing control from their hands.

Examples of this paradox surround two dominant themes in the reform movement: academic rigor and teacher training. The theme of increased academic content is one of the major themes running through the state-sponsored reforms. Increased graduation requirements, state-wide testing aligned with curriculum, stronger attendance requirements, increases in allocated instruction time, establishment of curriculum and materials standards—all are reflective of efforts in various states to "fix" schools. Another theme, improving the teacher force, reveals states adopting strategies such as stiffer certification requirements, career ladders, and performance-based evaluation, amongst others. Finally, states have mandated programs to address specific populations and their needs, such as at-risk youth, the gifted, and early childhood education (see Firestone, Fuhrman, & Kirst, 1990). Many of these state-initiated programs left the details up to the local school district or school, but the first level of choice, that is, to have the program or not, had already been usurped.

The principal is pulled in opposite directions by the tension of this paradox. How do school leaders meet top-down regulations from outside their districts while still fostering an enhanced collegial on-line sense of initiative and control within their schools?

Schools which both respond to the multiple forces which are impacting upon them and proactively search for improvement are dynamic schools. These schools vary in the number of changes which they adopt and in their selection of these changes, but they take on complex, difficult changes. The dynamic school principal coordinates, motivates, and activates the total school community to implement and sustain change in an ongoing search for growth and improvement.

In this section, we have described the complex forces which are im-

posing totally different demands on schools and their principals. In response to these changing contexts, principals must take on new roles and revise their leadership styles. One of the crucial changes in dynamic schools must be the role and conduct of evaluation related to these principals.

The approach we are suggesting for evaluating principals of dynamic schools is a continuous and participatory process that is school-based and links reflection with plans for action. It looks at processes, activities, and products. It recognizes that school improvement is the result of complex environmental interactions involving the whole school community. Our approach also recognizes that the leader in a dynamic school assumes new roles which may not be measurable in traditional ways. Finally, we suggest that the approach be horizontal rather than hierarchical (Rizvi, 1990); that is, consider a broad spectrum of evaluation usages and accountability to a variety of constituencies.

### **The Need for a Different System of Evaluation for School Improvement in Dynamic Schools**

Schools and the work of their principals are being evaluated informally every day. Parents pass judgment as their children report each day's events; real estate agents rate the schools in each community for potential buyers; local businesses measure the schools on the basis of their experiences with the young people they hire. The evaluation of the principal is tightly linked to the evaluation of the school. The school has little control over these types of informal evaluation which are mostly summative. A more formalized school-based evaluation design would give people who care about improving their school and its public image some tools to control judgments of effectiveness and to fulfill the other crucial roles of evaluation.

An accountability system for schools is used to ensure that teachers and administrators are doing their jobs to provide quality education and that appropriated funds are used as policy dictates. The purpose of evaluation includes, but goes beyond, accountability. Evaluation looks at programs and personnel and seeks to discover *why* the programs have had the determined effect, and *whether* the determined effect is the one that the school community wants. The cycle of evaluation, which includes assessment, planning and design, implementation, and evaluation, can serve as a key strategy in program and personnel improvement.

One of the most important targets and clients of evaluation is the principal, since leadership and evaluation are tightly linked. Leadership shapes events, while evaluation can change the shape of those events

(Glasman, 1986). The ability to lead depends, in part, upon the leader's ability to understand his or her own desires and those of the members of the organization, and to translate these desires into actions which produce a desired shape of events (Glasman, 1986). Evaluation information, then, helps the principal understand desires and shape events, just as it shapes people's beliefs about the school and its leader. In sum, evaluation is a key strategy for school improvement.

Traditional approaches to administrative evaluation have fallen short of providing useful information to principals and others for school improvement efforts of the types taking place in dynamic schools. The evaluation approach we propose below differs substantively and procedurally from existing and traditional approaches to administrative evaluation. Traditional principal evaluation is informal and focuses almost entirely on process: Is the building functioning smoothly? Does the principal operate within the allocated budget? Is the principal liked by the parents? Does the community appear satisfied? Data like attendance figures are the primary product measures. In other words, principals are evaluated on their ability to keep the ship afloat and to prevent anything or anybody from rocking the boat.

These images of traditional administrative evaluation are grounded in shared myths and common sense understandings of practice since reliable information on past administrator evaluation is not readily available. Documentation of practices used by districts to evaluate principals is sketchy; we could find few standardized instruments or plans actually identified for use in formal evaluation. Moreover, a preliminary review yields no noteworthy synthesis of empirical and conceptual literature related to evaluation of administrative practice.

This type of traditional evaluation is also reported as common practice by many principals.<sup>1</sup> The principals who participated in the *High School and Beyond* survey responded to a general question about their performance evaluation in the Administrator and Teacher Survey (National Center for Education Statistics, 1984). Specifically, the principals were asked, "On a scale of 1 to 6, how much influence do you feel each of the following has upon how your performance is evaluated by *your superiors*?" The results of the responses to this question are reported in Table 1.

<sup>1</sup>The original *High School and Beyond* study included 60,000 students in about 1,000 secondary schools and aimed to learn about student achievement, attitudes, activities, and family background. The principal survey, developed by the National Center for Education Statistics at the U.S. Department of Education, was administered to a national sample of about half of the original schools that had participated in the *High School and Beyond* study. Seventy-two percent of the principals ( $N = 402$ ), including principals from public and private schools, responded to the questionnaires.

Table 1

*Principals' Reports of the Influence of Various Factors on How Their Performance is Evaluated by Their Superiors (N=358)\**

Factor	Mean**	S.D.
Efficient Administration	5.14	.93
Good Disciplinary Environment	5.02	.97
Parent or Community Reaction	4.80	1.08
Student Performance on Standardized Tests or College Admission	3.39	1.47

\* Based on Public School Principals' Responses to the Administrator Survey of High School and Beyond.

\*\*Range 1-6

The means, as presented in Table 1, indicate that principals believe that the most important influence on their evaluation as a principal by their superiors is running an efficiently administered school. Second in importance is having a good disciplinary environment in the school. Third is parent and community reactions about the school, and last is the performance of the school's students on standardized tests or in gaining admission to college.

The ranking of these issues suggests that these secondary school principals largely believe that they are evaluated by keeping an orderly, tight ship, both in terms of the students (disciplinary environment) and in regard to their teachers and other staff (having efficient administration). Interestingly, the correlation between these two factors of influence is strong ( $r = .49$ ).

The principals indicate that parental and community reactions, and student outcomes, such as academic achievement and college admission, have relatively little impact on their performance appraisal. They sense, perhaps, that they will receive a favorable performance evaluation from their superintendents if they do not make waves, or rock the boat. These findings suggest a far cry from the types of answers we would expect from principals engaged in restructuring efforts, where community input and accountability are central forces.

More recently, the recognition of the principal as an important component in an effective school (see Andrews & Soder, 1987; Bossert, Dwyer,

Rowan, & Lee, 1982; Edmonds & Fredericksen, 1987; Hallinger & Murphy, 1987) has opened discussion of principal evaluation. The connection in this literature between strong principal leadership behavior and student achievement introduced notions about school outcome-based evaluation for the principal. Restructuring efforts which have focused on principals have linked principals' performance assessment to school outcomes (see e.g., Cibulka, 1989) and have suggested holding principals accountable for student achievement (National Governors' Association, Task Force on Education, 1990). Even the public overwhelmingly favors rewarding principals based on their schools' success (Elam, 1990).

Career ladder programs for principals are another evaluation method designed to reward school administrators for measurable school improvement. The South Carolina Principal Incentive Program (PIP), for example, emphasizes student achievement gains in determining principals who will receive incentive awards (MGT of America, 1990). The Tennessee Career Ladder Administrator/Supervisor System uses a more complex system to determine merit pay recipients (Tennessee State Board of Education, 1990), but increases depend upon a final score. A team of raters draws this score from identified domains of competence which include outcome data. In these and other evaluation systems, the principal is held accountable for results of organizational activities.

Several states, like Illinois, have legislated new criteria for certification and reward of principals, but there is a dearth of empirical evidence to justify connecting legislated requirements to actual principal performance and school improvement. In fact, research reveals no clear relationship between the attributes of school principals and levels of student achievement (Deal, 1987; Glasman, 1986; Lee, 1987), and the link between principal behavior and school outcomes is at best indirect (Boyan, 1988; Heck, Larsen, & Marcoulides, 1990). In sum, while most constituencies today recognize the importance of the principal, few evaluation practices have successfully assessed this complex role. Currently, the overwhelming majority of districts in the United States use summative findings by a sole evaluator/supervisor as the only source of input in administrator evaluations (Educational Research Service, 1985).

### Evaluation in a Dynamic School

We suggest that principals of dynamic schools have new and different roles that require a novel approach to evaluation. These principals are directly responsible for process and indirectly responsible for product. Thus, a realistic evaluation for this principal must include an individual accountability for enabling the processes of a dynamic school, as well as

<u>Uses of Evaluation</u>	<u>Targets of Evaluation</u>	
	Principal	School
Informative	Process	Process
Formative	Process	Process and Product
Summative	Process	Product

*Figure 1. School-based accountability in dynamic schools.*

*Note.* All evaluation is conducted by the school evaluation team.

a school-based accountability for products. In this evaluation, leadership processes will be individually assessed, and outcome assessments will be school-based (see Figure 1). Our proposed evaluation emphasizes internal as well as external accountability; consequently, we suggest the establishment of a school-based team to coordinate and support the evaluation activities.

Our view of evaluation aims to establish an inquiry ethic and a commitment to collective problem solving that would permeate the school (Darling-Hammond & Snyder, 1992). We see mechanisms for review of practice by teachers, principals, and students established as regularized evaluation activities. These activities create opportunities for using assessment data and other feedback to inform decision making at all levels of evaluation use. Some activities focus on process, and others focus on product. Because of the pervasiveness of these activities, a school-wide team must be assigned the responsibility of coordinating evaluation.

The team's efforts promote "horizontal accountability" which emphasizes accountability to the entire school community, that is, to all constituents within the school environment—principal, teachers, parents, and students—rather than to the hierarchy of the bureaucracy (Rizvi, 1990). The client, then, is not just the school board or the state, but all those persons who are involved in program development, implementation, and use. The evaluation coordinating team's responsibility is drawing information from appropriate sources and seeing that information gets to appropriate audiences. Horizontal accountability supports the inquiry ethic of the school by recognizing everyone's responsibility for success and by providing opportunity for reflection.

Traditionally, evaluation is seen as playing two roles (Scriven, 1967). Summative evaluation offers a final determination of the worth of a program or individual's performance in a role. It is not designed to be constructive; rather, it is designed to be ultimately judgmental and primarily used by those stakeholders who will make some decision about program or individual continuation. Formative evaluation is conceptualized as constructive. Formative results can be used by a variety of stakeholders and the emphasis is on offering input that will help improve programs or individual performance. In both roles, evaluation serves to inform decision making.

We see another role for evaluation which is crucial in the dynamic school environment: informative. At early stages of program implementation or of a person's performance in a position, evaluation data are useful just to inform program personnel or individuals about what is happening. While data collection and analysis are in too early a stage to interpret with any conclusive meaning, display of data can simply inform the practitioner and decision makers in a variety of ways. For example, in an evaluation conducted on Classroom Alternative Processes (Rallis, 1989), we fed early analyses of team record sheets back to the program planners, team members, and the State Board of Education. We offered no interpretations for the data and made no attempt to assign meaning to emergent patterns. This feedback served to legitimate the program and lay a groundwork for a deeper understanding of the program than would have been possible had we waited for formative interpretations or summative results. Through the use of informative evaluation, stakeholders become an active part of the inquiry process.

As was mentioned earlier, the responsibility for evaluation in the dynamic school rests with an evaluation team. The team's work is comprehensive in nature. First, the team looks at the specific roles of the principal: the facilitator of teaching work in the school and the flag bearer and boundary spanner in the external school community. Why does the team focus on these roles? It is through these roles that the principal enables other adults to assume leadership within the school, carries the message of the school into the community, and coordinates the internal and external worlds. The principal of dynamic schools manipulates these school process variables. It is the working of these process variables that results in school outcomes.

We know that many of the principal's leadership activities, such as observing classroom practices, promoting discussion about instructional issues, and emphasizing student assessment for program improvement appear to be good predictors of school performance (Heck, 1992). The evaluation team also works with the principal to design measures for

these activities and to create opportunities for reflection about their impact.

Next, the team looks at school outcomes, or products. These include measures of effects from policies, programming, and allocation of resources. These are products of the total school environment for which principals are only indirectly responsible, since they facilitate the processes through which the outcomes are produced. Again, the evaluation coordinating team assembles data on outcomes and creates opportunities through which appropriate stakeholders may reflect upon and use the information.

Because process and product surface as mutual components of leadership, they are mutual components of evaluation. Product, or outcomes, are due to process. But products, in turn, impact the process. Process is shaped largely by what people believe, and the results of the process then serve to alter what people believe. As a result, information about both the product and the process shape beliefs, or judgments. Specifically, school outcomes themselves cause educators to re-think their beliefs and practices (Wick, 1987), thus influencing the process and, indirectly, the leadership actions of a principal. Information used to evaluate (informatively, formatively, and summatively) the work of the principal in enabling the processes and the work of the members of the organization in executing the processes into product is part of the change process in a dynamic school. Thus, a useful evaluation will not use a linear cause-effect design.

The evaluation we are suggesting is not linear. Rather, it recognizes the complexity of the principal's work. Of this work, instructional leadership, which the literature most often associates with the most common evaluation criteria, student achievement, is only one key element in the dynamic school's social and environmental milieu. All the elements contribute to determining student achievement (Heck, 1992), so we propose an evaluation that considers contributions of multiple individual and organizational elements. In this evaluation, leadership processes will be individually assessed, and outcome assessments will be school-based (see Figure 1).

Finally, this type of evaluation serves several clients, both internal and external to the school. A top priority for this evaluation is to serve as a catalyst for ongoing school improvement. Thus, the major clients are the school faculty and the principal themselves. Next, the superintendent and the school board need this evaluative view of the principal and the school to inform their decision making. Parents need the information in order to understand and support their children's place of learning. Similarly, community groups and businesses can use the information to

define and proclaim a community asset and to choose aspects of the school program to support. In sum, our proposed evaluation can yield information for many stakeholders.

The next two sections of this article present, in more detail, the two crucial aspects of evaluation in the dynamic school: assessing principal's leadership processes and assessing school outcomes.

### *Assessing the Principal's Leadership Processes*

A useful evaluation of principals of dynamic schools will look at those activities for which they are directly responsible, that is, establishing and supporting team decision making, manipulating resources, articulating the school's mission, and engaging with the external environment. Specific questions that the team needs to address include:

- Do people, both inside and outside the school, understand what we are trying to do (our mission)?
- Is teacher leadership emerging?
- What decision-making bodies have been established in the school? Do they meet? How often? Are they making decisions? What decisions are they making? How do people feel about these meetings and decisions?
- What opportunities for growth and development have been established? Do people take advantage of these opportunities? How do people feel about their participation?
- What links with the community have been established? Are school environment relations tended to appropriately?
- What resources have been created or tapped? How have these resources been manipulated?

Answers to these questions yield a rich source of evidence upon which to understand the work of the principal. The team members and the principal will review and reflect upon the data. Since the evaluation teams are school based, each team will develop a plan to use the data for meeting its specific needs. All three levels of use, from informative to summative, will be considered; some data will be used by the principal alone, while other data will be compiled into reports to be distributed externally. The team, facilitated by the principal, will make the choices about using the information to assess the principal's effectiveness.

The teams are reviewing principals' activities and behaviors directly affecting school processes which would then, in turn, affect school outcomes. In other words, the teams collect evidence that indicates whether the principals are enabling others to function, and whether these functions would change the outcomes for children in the school. Reviewing

these data can make it clear whether the principal is essential to the success of the school.

### *Assessing School Outcomes*

The second set of data for evaluating the principal must be school outcomes. But the principal is not directly responsible for these outcomes. Rather, outcomes are products of processes, the results of the group interactions and team processes occurring in the school environment, an environment that the principal as leader has been instrumental in establishing. Thus, the outcome measures, while still a component of the principal's evaluation, are school-based. That is, school outcomes must consider the total school context.

Considering the school context means that more than student achievement outcomes must be examined. For outcome assessment, the evaluation team must ask questions such as:

- What programs have school-based management teams created?  
How are these programs operating?
- What solutions for school problems have teams found and implemented? How are these solutions working?
- What community relations programs or activities have been implemented? What is their rate of success?
- Have school decision teams sought and allocated resources? In what ways and with what results?
- Have teams created new policies? What effect have the policies had on school operation?
- What are students learning?

Answers to these questions should come from a variety of data sources: program evaluation reports, team meeting records, systematic observations of planned events, budget or audit reports, student performance assessments, and student achievement scores. An example of the documentation to be included in the portfolio might be reports from the team which use a "descriptive review" process to assess the status and progress of individual children (as described by Carini, 1986, and as used by New York's Brooklyn New School, Darling-Hammond & Snyder, 1992). These data can be compiled into school portfolios by the evaluation coordinating team. We suggest that the outcome assessment be treated as an ongoing activity to which all members of the school community contribute, rather than one performed by an individual in a supervisory position. If school community stakeholders can assume ownership for this aspect of the evaluation, the experience can be both informative in that they will be creating knowledge about their work,

and formative in that they will be using this knowledge to improve their work. That is, members can examine their own and other's work, understand and determine its effectiveness, and explore alternative strategies for improving their environment.

A feasible design for conducting the outcome assessment involves compiling a school portfolio containing the kind of rich outcome data from the sources we have suggested above. (Portfolios are already widely used for teacher and student assessment, see Schulman, 1988; Wolf, 1991). Evaluation team members represent the various constituencies which contribute to school success: teachers from different programs and activities in operation, parents and possibly other community representatives, the principal, and possibly a student, depending upon the age of the student body. In a dynamic school, a team that already exists, such as the planning team, will design an appropriate composition and task definition to meet the needs of the school.

The school portfolio can produce a summative evaluation with solid, defensible data to document the school's record of accomplishment. The team can also analyze these results by matching them with the established mission and philosophy of the school to produce a formative evaluation. Reviewing the outcomes, the team can form a picture of the school and ask:

- What kind of school are we? Are we pleased with this picture?
- What kind of work do we do and what kind of learning occurs?  
Again, are we pleased with this picture?
- What forces, individuals, and groups are contributing to or responsible for the picture?
- What kind of changes are occurring in this school? Are they changes that improve the school environment?
- Are we moving in the direction we want?
- What forces, individuals, and groups are contributing to or responsible for these changes?
- How can we reinforce the positive aspects?
- What might be barriers or potential barriers to school improvement changes?
- What do we need to strengthen our processes and outcomes?

Discussion and analysis of answers to these questions can result in a formative evaluation which serves as a needs assessment identifying areas in which to focus new improvement efforts. This team, school-based accountability approach is also important as a means to support and motivate teachers toward increased participation in team collaboration, shared decision making, and other group work efforts.

### Evaluating the Evaluation Approach

The fundamental purpose of any evaluation plan, whether of persons or programs, must be to improve the provision of services to students and society (Joint Committee, 1988). Thus, we would be remiss if we did not consider the extent to which our proposed evaluation of a school leader accomplishes this purpose. To this end, the Joint Committee on Standards for Educational Evaluation (1988) offers *The Personnel Evaluation Standards* to use in assessing systems for evaluating educators. The standards are divided into four categories that correspond to four basic attributes of sound evaluation:

1. Propriety—does the evaluation determine if educators are effectively and ethically meeting the needs of students?
2. Utility—is the evaluation informative, timely, and influential? Does it focus on predetermined uses? Is it conducted by persons with expertise and credibility?
3. Feasibility—is the evaluation efficient, easy to use, and viable in the face of social, political, and legal forces and constraints? Will it be adequately funded?
4. Accuracy—will it produce sound, trustworthy information?

The principals of dynamic schools aim to build a school in which all students are comfortable and able to learn to the best of their ability. Our ultimate purpose in proposing this alternative evaluation approach is to provide a more accurate and realistic picture of the principal's success in achieving this goal. Therefore, we believe that our approach, because it draws from a variety of data sources to examine both individual and organizational effects, does meet the propriety standard; our holistic evaluation does probe the question of whether the principal and school are fulfilling the institutional mission and of whether that mission is educationally sound.

Since the principal and internal teams will have a great deal of control over the conduct of the evaluation, and since a primary use of the evaluation is to be informative and formative to these players themselves, we see our approach as meeting the utility standard. Since an informative, timely, influential, and relevant evaluation with appropriate follow-up is in the best interests of the members of the dynamic school, placing the onus of this standard on their shoulders does not seem unreasonable.

Since our evaluation approach is to be collaboratively developed and monitored and draws from already existing data sources, it is feasible. The major resource required will be the time and energy of the school-based evaluation team. That this approach to accountability fosters in-

ternal and professional, rather than bureaucratic or external, control assists in generating the necessary time and energy (see Darling-Hammond & Berry, 1988; Darling-Hammond & Snyder, 1992, for the definition of professional versus bureaucratic control used here). In other words, this model, which views teachers as capable of making complex educational decisions on behalf of diverse students, is self-rewarding.

Meeting the accuracy standard is in part dependent on the accuracy of those data already collected for other purposes. For example, the program evaluations and the student testing data to be included in the portfolios must themselves be technically accurate and valid. We admonish all school-based evaluation teams and principals to systematically and completely document all procedures that the team uses, and the team's work should be reviewed regularly by an external source so that problems are dealt with as they surface and necessary revisions are made.

### Summary

School-based outcomes assessment combined with individual process assessment of principals produces a more holistic picture on which to evaluate the performance of principals of dynamic schools than one based entirely on outcome data. This holistic picture can inform principals in informative ways by holding up a mirror so that they may see and understand what they are doing, and in formative ways, by revealing strengths or weakness they may want to reinforce or improve. The picture can also inform superintendents so that they may better know how to support or critique the work of their principals. School boards and other policymaking bodies may use the picture as a summative display of the achievements of the school and its principal.

Developing an evaluation-minded school (see Nevo, 1991) through establishing the principal and school evaluation systems that we propose is a complex process requiring long-term commitment. While we offer a framework to assess both individual leadership processes and school outcomes, others have more completely and adequately described the principles underlying training needs, and recommended strategies for implementing such an evaluation system (see e.g., Glasman & Nevo, 1988; Nevo, 1991). One caveat noted by Nevo (1991) that we underscore is the need to institutionalize the evaluation coordinating team as a permanent component in the structure of the school. Because this team is responsible for coordinating the principal's evaluation, the team's operations, unlike other teams in the school, should not depend primarily upon the principal's facilitation in order to flour-

ish. While still school-based and school-defined, the team and its task description should be officially recognized and legitimated by the board and superintendent. These bodies should provide for training, technical assistance, and reward for team members. In other words, the team needs both internal and external validation.

The approach for evaluating the principal of a dynamic school becomes more than a means to assess an individual's productivity. Instead, the evaluation becomes a key strategy in the total change process of the school. Evaluation of the principal of a dynamic school takes on a new role; evaluation becomes one of the continuous, participatory processes that is integral to the school's reflection and growth for improvement.

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# Principal Evaluation: New Directions for Improvement

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Together with parents and teachers, school principals play crucial roles in the effective education of America's children and youth. In recent years, researchers and policymakers have supported what parents and teachers have long known experientially—that the quality of leadership provided by school principals significantly influences the quality of schools (Andrews & Soder, 1987; Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan, & Lee, 1982; Clinton, 1991; Duke, 1987, 1992; Greenfield, 1987; Hallinger & Murphy, 1987; Leithwood, 1988; Schmitt & Schechtman, 1990; Sergiovanni, 1987).

Consequently, systematic and careful evaluation of principal qualifications, competence, and performance is critically important to the success of America's elementary and secondary schools. The public interest is no less at risk from incompetent school principals than from incompetent doctors, lawyers, and accountants, and all such public servants should be carefully evaluated throughout their professional careers. Sound evaluations of the aptitudes, proficiencies, performance, and special achievements of principals not only protect the public from poor

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school leadership but also help competent and dedicated principals increasingly to improve school-based teaching and learning.

Systematic evaluation is needed throughout the careers of principals to examine whether (a) the applicant has the *aptitude* needed to succeed in a sound principal education program, (b) the graduate of a principal education program has developed sufficient *competence* to be certified for service as a principal, (c) the certified principal has the *special qualifications* necessary to succeed in a particular principalship, (d) the employed principal is fulfilling job *performance* requirements as well as can be expected, and (e) the principal has exhibited *highly meritorious service* that deserves special recognition and reinforcement.

Although principal evaluation is important and while about 38 of the states require principal evaluation (Peters & Bagenstos, 1988), the quality of principal evaluations has remained poor (Connecticut Principal's Academy, 1990; Ebmeier, 1991; Ginsberg & Berry, 1990; Marcoulides, 1990; Marcoulides & Heck, 1992; Tennessee State Board of Education, 1991). One commonly heard complaint is that the "old boys network" has unduly influenced (or constrained) the selection of persons to enter principal training programs. For example, "In many situations, the applicant pool for principalship vacancies is determined by the school board or by mentors of candidates who feel that it is 'time' for the applicant to begin his/her administrative experiences" (Schmitt & Schechtman, 1990). Also, certification often has guaranteed no more than that the applicant has "accumulated course work, often poorly sequenced, at one or more institutions . . ." without necessarily obtaining the recommendation of a higher education institution (Tennessee State Board of Education, 1991, p. i). Other commonly heard criticisms are that selections to principalships have frequently been quasi-retirement positions for coaches, counselors, band directors, classroom teachers, and others; that practicing principals have received little useful evaluative feedback for improving their performance; and, in general, that school districts' engagement of outstanding school principals has been largely a matter of chance.

The purpose of this article is to provide some direction for developing better principal evaluation systems. In the first part of the article we provide a theoretical framework that categorizes the important required evaluation tasks. In part two we review some recent developments in principal evaluation that coincide with the evaluation tasks identified in part one (especially including state and national efforts to clarify the role and associated evaluative criteria of the school principal, university-based programs for selecting principal education students, state performance-based certification, school district systems for evaluating the perfor-

mance of practicing school principals, and state and university systems for assessing and addressing the professional development needs of practicing principals). As a means to evaluating and improving developments, such as those identified in part two, in part three we review *The Personnel Evaluation Standards* and in part four offer suggestions for their application in assessing, selecting, and improving principal evaluation methods.

### Part One: A Theoretical Framework for Principal Evaluation

Table 1 is adapted from current work being done by Carol Dwyer and Daniel Stufflebeam in the area of teacher evaluation (for a chapter in the forthcoming *Handbook of Educational Psychology*) and depicts principal evaluation as integral to the principal's career. This framework is designed to provide a conceptually comprehensive, coherent view of principal evaluation. The main horizontal dimension includes four career stages: *Preparation*, *Certification*, *Practice*, and *Professionalization*. The vertical dimension divides each career stage into *Entry* activities (e.g., selection of a candidate for entry into one of the four stages included on the main horizontal dimension, such as a principal preparation program), *Participation* (including completion of a principal preparation program or actually serving as a school principal), and *Exit* (e.g., advancement to the next career stage or termination). The second horizontal dimension denotes *Evaluations* and *Decisions* that are involved in the *Entry*, *Participation*, and *Exit* activities of each of the four principal career stages.

Overall, this matrix is constructed to encompass all the decisions and associated evaluations that occur from the beginning of a principal's preparation and throughout the principal's career. Its intended uses include guiding the search for and development of evaluation methods that are needed to fulfill the purposes of principal evaluation and identifying and assessing the extant or proposed approaches that might be combined to operationalize this scheme. The full range of evaluations shown in the matrix are important to help assure that America's schools are staffed with appropriately qualified and effective principals. It cannot be overstressed that the totality of principal evaluation requires concerted attention if schools are to receive the help they need from evaluation to engage principals who provide effective educational leadership. In the next section of this article, we use the matrix in Table 1 as a basis for identifying and commenting on some recent developments in principal evaluation.

**Table 1**  
*Types of Evaluations and Decisions Involved in Preparing, Licensing, Employing, and Professionalizing Educators*

Activities in Each Career Stage	Stages in the Career of an Educator						
	Preparation		Licensing		Practice		Professionalization
Evaluations	Decisions	Evaluations	Decisions	Evaluations	Decisions	Evaluations	Decisions
Entry	Evaluations of supply & demand	Ranking & funding training programs	Review of credentials	Approval to enter the certification process	Evaluation of staffing needs	Job definitions, job search	Examination of staff needs and institutional needs
	Evaluations of recruitment programs	Redesign of the programs		Evaluation of recruitment program	Program redesign	Assessment of needs and achievements of educators	Approval of study leaves & special grants
	Assessment of applicants	Selection of students		Evaluation of applicants	Selection of staff members	Assessment of basic qualifications for national certification	Participation in a national certification program
	Intake evaluations	Planning student programs	Induction evaluation during a probationary year	Provisional state license/certificate	Comparison of job requirements & competencies	Assignment	Intake evaluations
Participation	Evaluations of students' mastery of course requirements	Grades Counseling Remediation	Certification test	Partial qualification for a license/certificate	Performance review	End of probation	Designing individual education programs
	Cumulative progress reviews	Counseling Revising student programs				Promotion Tenure Merit pay Staff development Honors	Professional certification
		Termination			Investigation of charges	Rulings on grievances	

Table 1 continued

Activities in Each Career Stage	Stages in the Career of an Educator					
	Preparation		Licensing		Practice	
Evaluations	Decisions	Evaluations	Decisions	Evaluations	Decisions	Evaluations
Exit	Final evaluation of students' fulfillment of graduation requirements	Graduation	Review of success in a designated period	Permanent or long-term license	Comparison of resources, staff needs, & staff seniority	Reduction in force
	Exit interviews		Program review & Improvement		Performance review	Termination or sanctions
	Follow-up survey		Program review & improvement		Examination of competence & aptitude	New assignments

## Part Two: Promising Developments in Principal Evaluation

In spite of the dismal history of principal evaluation, there are a few recent developments of interest related to the career stages seen in Table 1. Across all the stages, new policies in Tennessee (West, 1991) and Connecticut (Chester & Pecheone, 1992) show two states' similar efforts to develop a comprehensive performance-based evaluation system for recruiting, selecting, preparing, certifying, and developing school principals. These systems are referenced below along with some other specific developments.

### *Developments Concerned With Entry to Professional Training*

After conducting an exhaustive search for empirical research on selection of persons to enter principalship training or the principalship, Schmitt and Schechtman (1990) concluded that "little is known about the methods by which these individuals [principals] are chosen to assume their administrative duties, and less is known about the validity of these methods" (p. 231). However, based on what research was available they concluded that the assessment center (method that uses multiple assessors and multiple structured methods, including in-baskets, tests, and work samples) is the only selection method that is supported by empirical evidence. They found that "one can expect a correlation with subsequent job performance measures in the range of .25-.35," and that "validities from assessment centers are typically higher than the validities obtained from other selection techniques such as the personal interview or reference checks" (p. 237). They also pointed out, however, that since there is not strong evidence that schools make much use of assessment center results in selection, since assessment centers are very expensive, since schools are prone to use the interview approach, and since interviews when appropriately structured can be effective, it may be cost efficient to develop a rigorous, structured interview approach. However, the bottom line from their review is that there is a dire need for additional research and development into methods for selecting principals.

Among the specific examples of comprehensive programs for assessing candidates for principalship education is the Leaders Preparation Program (LPP) at Brigham Young University (Hite, 1991). This program sets a quota on the number of applicants to be selected, searches far and wide for candidates, then evaluates their qualifications by means of multiple methods. The measures include grade point average, achievement tests, a critical thinking test, self-assessment, assessments by pro-

fessional associates, interviews, simulation exercises, a writing sample, and a composite profile. Possibly the most significant feature of this program is that given a quota, given a wide search for applicants, and given a wide range of evaluation methods used, the educational administration faculty can thoughtfully consider a wide array of information about each of a large number of candidates and select what they jointly consider to be the best subset of the applicants. Without quotas, without a wide search, and without multiple measures of candidate characteristics, the selection process often admits too many candidates from a restricted pool and ends up with many students who are of marginal ability.

Also of relevance to selecting principal education students are efforts to clarify the knowledge and skill base they must master in order to perform effectively as a school principal. The federal government (Sashkin, 1987) and various states and LEAD centers have clarified the roles of principals and the proficiencies that practicing principals consider most important for success in their jobs. At this writing, the National Policy Board for Educational Administration was planning to publish, in 1992, a recommended knowledge and skill base for principals. These are useful, constructive steps and should help universities and prospective students to do a better job of structuring screening and selection techniques, deciding who should enter into school principal training programs, and assuring that principal preparation programs directly prepare students to carry out all the important parts of the principal's job.

Several states have clarified and strengthened their principal education requirements. For example, Alabama requires that principalship students study the following content knowledge fields (Roth, 1991):

1. *Curriculum*: curriculum sequence, technology in the curriculum.
2. *Supervision*: classroom observation and evaluation techniques.
3. *Staff Development*: adult learning, developing and implementing staff development programs.
4. *Student Services*: student health service, guidance and counseling programs.
5. *Leadership Skills*: vision and goal setting, group dynamics, ethical standards.
6. *School and Community Relations*: community diversity, political factors with impact on the school.
7. *School Management*: fiscal and personnel resource management, conflict and stress management.
8. *Law*: system and individual liability, due process, tenure and termination law. (p. 4)

These are clearly related to the role of the principal and thus provide an appropriate reality base for the content of principal training programs and for screening and selection of students who could and would be interested in succeeding in these areas. However, all such lists of requirements must be held under scrutiny and continuously updated to more validly reflect all important aspects of the principalship role. For example, the above list seems to be missing the important areas of student and program evaluation, areas that are especially crucial in principalships involved with site-based management.

### *Developments Concerned With Licensing Principals*

One of the key state responsibilities is to assure that candidates for principalships in the state's schools are fully qualified to carry out the role of the principalship. In many states certification decisions have rested largely on whether the candidate completed an approved preparation program and satisfied some minimal experience requirements. Currently, some states and consortia are imposing considerably more demanding certification requirements (see Bartell, 1992; Chester & Pecheone, 1992; Roth, 1991; Tennessee State Board of Education, 1991; Thomson, 1991).

Bartell (1992), describing the two-tier administrative credential reform in California, reported that 27 states have similar provisions for levels for certification of school administrators. For example, Connecticut is mounting a joint university-state three-tiered certification program. It issues an initial certificate at the end of preservice preparation, issues a provisional certificate after 1 year of satisfactory service as a principal, issues a professional certificate after 3 to 5 years of satisfactory school service, and subsequently renews the professional certificate every 5 years if nine CEUs have been earned. This initiative focuses on the principal as instructional leader; promotes the growth of all students; supports the ongoing professional development of the principal; grounds certification decisions in performance assessment; includes the possibility that certification may not be renewed every 5 years; and makes the certification process a joint venture of the state, universities, and school districts. Weaknesses, that in our view are yet to be resolved in the Connecticut model, include overconcentration on the principal's style and traits rather than proficiency in implementing duties, too little attention to the job context, and overreliance on a superintendent's judgment for the summative evaluation. A similar certification system being developed in Tennessee merits attention for its special efforts to develop a competency test for principals and to employ a professional development plan, a performance contract, and a performance portfolio

for use in evaluating job performance. On balance, Connecticut, Tennessee, and a wide range of other states are exerting excellent leadership to bring higher education, school districts, and the state together in improving principal education and principal certification; these innovative programs should be of interest to other states and universities.

### *Developments Related to Performance Evaluations*

In spite of the general criticism of the quality of evaluations of principals' performance, a number of noteworthy developments in this area are underway. While it is too early to provide in-depth evaluations of these efforts, they are worth mention and bear watching.

The Tennessee State Board of Education has adopted a straightforward and standardized approach to performance evaluation (Tennessee State Board of Education, 1991). Under the Tennessee approach the superintendent evaluates the principal's performance based upon a performance contract and a portfolio of achievements prepared by the principal. The results are then used to prepare the principal's annual professional development plan. The principal's performance is to be examined in five general areas: (a) student academic learning and social development, (b) learning environment in the school, (c) faculty and staff development and involvement, (d) parent and community involvement and satisfaction, and (e) financial and program management.

These assessment areas assure some standardization across principals in assessing performance of important core school administration responsibilities. However, they are too restrictive to cover all the important performance criteria for given principals, for example, a principal's leadership in goal setting, program planning, student and teacher assessment, program evaluation, and fund-raising. On the other hand, this approach does allow for customizing the evaluations of individual principals through performance contracts and self-assessment portfolios. A key point is that this approach emphasizes the use of evaluation findings in developing professional development plans.

Fundamental requirements of fair and valid performance evaluations are to develop valid job descriptions, keep them up-to-date, and use them as a basis for evaluating job performance (Joint Committee, 1988). While there is some important work going in this direction, this work is also problematic.

It is certainly important that state education departments, LEAD centers, and school districts are collaborating to clarify the role of the school principal and that researchers are developing instruments to better assess principals on variables related to their jobs. Studying the actual

jobs of principals and then developing grounded generic job descriptions is one important intermediate step toward improving individual job descriptions, but it must not be taken as the last step. Using generic job descriptions that fit all or most school principals generally but none specifically could lead to many locally invalid performance evaluations, that is, ones that do not take into account local content, idiosyncratic job assignments, or particular priorities of the school. Clearly, job descriptions that provide a valid basis for assessing principal performance must be customized to the particular principal's job and kept up-to-date.

Another useful but problematic development in evaluating principal performance relates to the conceptualization and operationalization of criteria for assessing principal performance. Researchers such as Hart (1992) and Marcoulides and Heck (1992) are working on the identification of best practice criteria for assessing principals' job performances. We see these criteria as potentially very useful in the study of groups of principals and think they could prove useful for designing principal preparation programs and for developing principal job descriptions. However, we also think their use in evaluating performance of individual principals would be problematic and possibly counterproductive. School districts might quickly seize on standardized instruments and use them as the measure of principal performance even though they are not sensitive to the particulars of a given principal's job in a given year.

Some of the current efforts to define criteria and develop instruments for measuring principal performance are making the serious error of selecting variables only because they correlate with student test scores. Let alone that student test scores are insufficient measures of school effectiveness and that the principal is only one of many complex contributors to student achievement, it is also unfair and invalid to choose performance measures only or mainly because they correlate with student test scores (or some other measure of principal effectiveness). The correlations are never close to perfect, and thus some principals who might measure poorly on the predictor variable might nevertheless perform excellently in the principal role. Also, an objective search for high correlations could result in choice of performance assessment variables that reflect personal characteristics, such as sex and race, and administrative style rather than fulfillment of assigned responsibilities. We predict that correlational research aimed at developing better principal performance evaluation instruments will not be of much assistance to school districts for evaluating the performance of school principals and think that the use of such instruments for evaluating performance of individual, rather than groups of principals, could prove to be unfair and counterproductive. This would be the case if the use of such instruments

diverted attention from fulfillment of certain assigned responsibilities because they were not measured and if the feedback given influenced principals to concentrate on improving leadership style rather than fulfillment of their particular and current responsibilities.

We do think that evaluations of the performance of principals can be improved by helping school districts improve their development and use of principal job descriptions. Some particularly useful work in this area is underway in Texas (Texas Education Agency in cooperation with Texas LEAD Center, 1989) in the context of a mandate to improve evaluations of the performance of all public school administrators in the state. The Texas collaborators have studied roles of different categories of school district and school administrators throughout the state and developed generic job descriptions. These provide school districts in Texas with models to guide the development of job descriptions for individual principals.

To illustrate the structural requirements of a sound job description and the contents that might be included in a particular principal's job description, we have used information from the Texas effort to develop an illustration of the contents of an appropriate job description. We organized it according to the format for sound position descriptions recommended by the Joint Committee on Standards for Educational Evaluation (1981): position qualifications, position responsibilities, and performance objectives.

Examples of principal position *qualifications* in the job description include:

- Master's degree plus 5 semester hours of graduate credit
- State license to serve as a principal
- Record of effective teaching
- Record of strong organizational and leadership abilities
- Record of honoring diversity
- Skills in planning, testing, and evaluation
- Skills in motivating, guiding, and coordinating individuals and groups
- Skills in public speaking and writing
- Skills in fiscal management and facilities management
- Skills in using technology to support educational processes
- Knowledge of laws relevant to the state's schools
- Knowledge of research on child growth and development
- Knowledge of curriculum and instruction literature
- Possession of a vision of the appropriate aims and processes of education

Categories for defining a principal's *responsibilities* and performance measures could include the following:

- Promotes and supports the *educational development of each student*
- Fosters a positive, supportive, and productive *school climate*
- Conceptualizes, leads, and evaluates *school improvement efforts*
- Monitors, evaluates, and provides direction for *improving instruction*
- *Personnel management*: recruits, selects, directs, evaluates, and mentors teachers and other school personnel
- *Administration and fiscal/facilities management*: schedules school activities; allocates school resources; maintains fiscal accountability; secures, controls, and maintains facilities; complies with pertinent rules, regulations, and laws
- *Student management*: communicates and enforces equitably school rules and discipline measures and fosters open communication and a positive school climate
- *School/community relations*: assesses and addresses school-related community needs; communicates with the community about school mission, needs, programs, and achievements; projects a positive school image to the community; and involves parents and other community members in school activities
- *Professional growth and development*: continuously examines and takes steps to improve one's skills and performance; contributes to the development of the educational administration profession

The preceding list is only one example of a principal's areas of qualifications and performance expectations. As the Joint Committee emphasizes, a supervisor, in communication with the employee, must periodically tailor the job description to the particular assignment. When delineated and kept up-to-date, a job description provides a useful and defensible basis for assessing the qualifications, competence, performance, and special achievements of the particular principal.

#### *Developments Related to the Professional Development of the School Principal*

Throughout the nation, there has been increased emphasis on the continuing professional development of school administrators, especially through state principal academies. For example, the Maine Academy of School Leaders is placing heavy emphasis on the professional development of principals through such means as internships with mentors, follow-through support from accomplished administrators, and regional networks (Quaglia, 1991).

Similarly, the Alabama LEAD Academy is collecting data to help

principals evaluate their job-related skill needs and to choose appropriate professional development activities (Short, 1991). To address the professional development needs, the Alabama Professional Development Program for Educational Leaders provides opportunities for advanced learning and skill development in a range of administrative responsibilities, for example, communication, leadership, and management. Bases for choosing learning experiences include the principal's assessed needs and interests, evaluations of job performance, and the local school system's priorities and desired program improvements.

Evaluations of Alabama's longstanding program of educator inservice education by the Western Michigan University Evaluation Center have shown them to be well conceived and effective. Particularly important have been the working relationships between the state education department, the universities, and the school districts in each university's service region. As the evaluations showed, inservice offerings were determined by regional boards whose majority of membership was from the public schools and based upon assessed professional development needs of the public school educators in the region. The participating university in the region then provided the inservice education as specified by the regional board. We can't overemphasize the importance of the key elements of this program: inservice provided in response to needs assessments, programs mandated by boards controlled by public school personnel, inservice provided by the area university in the specified topical and skill areas, and all the groups working collaboratively to upgrade the skills and performance of school personnel.

A development in the continuing medical education field seems particularly relevant to the continuing education of school principals. It is called practice-linked continuing medical education and has been analyzed and described by Manning and DeBakey (1987). Basically, their approach calls for individualized, problem-centered education of the professional. While various instructional and learning techniques may be used with this approach, basically it involves the following five steps:

1. *Identify needs* for professional development by assessing performance in key areas of the job (e.g., prescribing practice for physicians or teacher evaluation for principals).
2. Develop a *learning contract* to target and resolve particular job-related deficiencies or needs (e.g., learning objectives, selected readings and consultations, and portfolio development to demonstrate achievement).
3. Obtain and study pertinent *library materials* (e.g., research findings and exemplary practices).

4. *Network* with pertinent experts and peers to obtain advice and assistance (e.g., more experienced principals or a university expert in the area of study).
5. *Evaluate* the experience and provide evidence that the learning objectives were achieved (e.g., by developing a performance portfolio and presenting it to the coordinator of continuing education and one's supervisor).

As seen in the above continuing education example, evaluating the performance of a professional not only provides feedback for accountability but also can provide a useful basis for helping the principal to develop competence and thereby improve performance. Someday, special proficiency evaluations might also provide a basis for providing national recognition to outstanding principals as will soon be the case for teachers under the auspices of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards.

The preceding analysis in this section illustrates the range of work that is being done and that needs to be done to improve principal evaluation. Next, we look at professional standards as a basis for both guiding and assessing such developments and we review the work of the Joint Committee on Standards for Educational Evaluation, which has been in progress since 1975.

### **Part Three: The Personnel Evaluation Standards**

Principal evaluation, like any other professional field, requires standards to guide professional practice, hold the professionals accountable, and provide goals for upgrading the profession's services. Fortunately, superintendents and others who evaluate the qualifications, proficiencies, performance, and special achievements of principals do have access to a carefully developed, regularly monitored, and periodically updated set of standards for judging principal evaluation systems, plans, and reports. We strongly advocate that educators involved with principal evaluation obtain, study, and rigorously apply these standards in their efforts to plan, conduct, apply, evaluate, and improve principal evaluations.

The Joint Committee has defined personnel evaluation as "the systematic assessment of a person's performance and/or qualifications in relation to a professional role and some specified and defensible institutional purpose" (Joint Committee, 1988, pp. 7-8). It has also reiterated its previous definition of a standard as "a principal commonly agreed to by people engaged in the professional practice of evaluation for the measurement of the value or the quality of an evaluation" (p. 12).

Sustaining the position it adopted in its program evaluation standards, the Joint Committee grounded its development of *The Personnel Evaluation Standards* in a fundamental proposition. It is that all evaluations should have four basic attributes: *propriety, utility, feasibility, and accuracy*. On the basis of this proposition, the Joint Committee developed comprehensive sets of standards and practical guidelines that educators can use to examine the extent to which any personnel evaluation system possesses these four attributes or to develop new systems that would possess them.

In the Joint Committee's 1988 publication, the Standards are presented at the level of elaborated general principles, with a wide range of illustrations constructed to help users see how to apply the standards to the various types of personnel evaluations. The Committee emphasized that general principles are adequate for providing direction for improvement, but also provided practical suggestions on how to meet each standard.

Following are the Committee's definitions of the four basic attributes of a sound personnel evaluation, including a list of the topics of the specific standards in each of the four categories. It is beyond the scope of this article to review all the standards and the specific guidelines and illustrative cases, which can be found in the original publication of the Standards (Joint Committee, 1988).

### *Propriety*

Propriety is aimed at ensuring that the rights of persons affected by an evaluation system will be protected, including students, teachers, professors, administrators, and evaluators. This aim reflects the fact that personnel evaluations may violate or fail to address certain ethical and legal principles. The primary principle is that schools exist to serve students; therefore, personnel evaluations should concentrate on determining whether educators are effectively meeting the needs of students. The five standards in this category are labeled Service Orientation, Formal Evaluation Guidelines, Conflict of Interest, Access to Personnel Evaluation Reports, and Interactions with Evaluatees. Overall, the Propriety standards require that evaluations be conducted legally, ethically, and with due regard for the welfare of students, other clients, teachers, principals, and other educators.

It is interesting that the Joint Committee deliberately placed the Propriety standards first among the four sets of standards. They did so to emphasize that evaluations of teachers, principals, and other school personnel must, above all, help to ensure that students and other clients

of educational services are well served and that evaluation systems must provide for orderly dismissal of staff members who persist in providing poor service.

### *Utility*

Utility is intended to guide evaluations so that they will be informative, timely, and influential. Especially, it requires that evaluations provide information useful to individuals and to groups of educators in improving their performance. Utility also requires that evaluations be focused on predetermined uses, such as informing selection and promotion decisions or providing direction for staff development, and that they be conducted by persons with appropriate expertise and credibility. The topics of the Utility standards are Constructive Orientation, Defined Uses, Evaluator Credibility, Functional Reporting, and Follow-Up and Impact. In general, personnel evaluation is viewed as an integral part of education's ongoing effort to recruit, educate, certify, engage, and recognize outstanding staff members, and, through timely and relevant evaluative feedback, to encourage and guide them increasingly to improve their competence and service.

Utility standards should be especially welcome to educators who see their institution's performance review system as only ritualistic and not helpful or, worse, demoralizing and counterproductive. By applying the Utility standards, an institution would be guided to clarify intended uses of its evaluation system and do whatever is required to ensure that the system addresses relevant questions, issues useful reports, and provides direction for improvement. The main point of the Utility standards is to insure that evaluations contribute constructively to helping educators develop competence and deliver excellent service and that they do this so well that the educators come to value systematic evaluation of their performance as an indispensable self-improvement tool.

### *Feasibility*

Feasibility emphasizes the requirement that personnel evaluations are conducted in institutional settings that have limited resources and are influenced by a variety of social, political, and governmental forces. Accordingly, the Feasibility standards call for evaluation systems that are efficient, easy to use, adequately funded, and politically viable. The topics of the Feasibility standards are Practical Procedures, Political Viability, and Fiscal Viability.

### *Accuracy*

Accuracy, the fourth requirement, emphasizes the need to determine whether an evaluation has produced dependable information about relevant qualifications or performance of an educator. This requires that the obtained information be technically defensible and that the conclusions be linked logically to the data. The position underlying the accuracy standards is that the variables must be derived from a valid description of the person's job. Simply showing that a personal characteristic—such as management style, quantitative aptitude, or race—is correlated with student achievement is not justification for using the characteristic to measure and judge an educator. As Scriven (1988) has argued, to do so not only risks prejudicial treatment of individuals, but, since the correlations are based on group data and are never perfect, such practice also produces invalid assessments of persons who rate low on the variable but do well on the job, or vice versa. The Joint Committee's field tests clearly indicated that many personnel evaluation systems need to be improved in how well they define jobs, how effectively they consider environmental influences, how validly they measure job qualifications and performance, and how effectively they control for various kinds of bias. The topics of the Accuracy standards are Defined Role, Work Environment, Documentation of Procedures, Valid Measurement, Reliable Measurement, Systematic Data Control, Bias Control, and Monitoring Evaluation Systems.

### **Part Four: Applying the Standards to Principal Evaluation**

*The Personnel Evaluation Standards* provide a comprehensive and widely endorsed basis for assessing and improving principal evaluation systems. School districts, state departments of education, R & D centers, and other educational agencies could use them as a source of issues to be considered and guidelines to follow in improving their current evaluation systems or developing new systems. A systematic use of *The Personnel Evaluation Standards* could help improve the design of a principal evaluation system, its implementation, and its potential impact on the educational system.

The Joint Committee has suggested five steps as a systematic way to apply the standards to a particular personnel evaluation system. They include (a) studying the standards, (b) clarifying the purpose of the evaluation system, (c) describing the existing evaluation system, (d) applying the standards, and (e) deciding what to do about the results. These general steps can be applied in using *The Personnel Evaluation Standards* to improve principal evaluation as follows.

### *Step 1: Understanding the Standards*

The purpose of this step is to become acquainted with the standards, so that they can be considered for adoption as a basic reference by which to examine and improve the quality of a principal evaluation system. It is important that all those involved in the improvement process will understand the underlying principles of the standards and become acquainted with the specific details of the various standards.

The standards are presented in nontechnical language, in a common format for ease of use, and with examples that show how they can be applied. A careful examination of *The Personnel Evaluation Standards* reveals that they are delineated in several layers of abstraction. Going from the more abstract to the more concrete, we see at the first layer the fundamental proposition that all evaluations should have four *basic attributes*: propriety, utility, feasibility, and accuracy. At the second layer are the 21 *Standards* that, if met, will assure that the evaluation has the above-mentioned four basic attributes. At the third layer we see the *guidelines* for each standard, which provide procedural suggestions intended to help meet the requirements of each standard, plus common errors to avoid. At the fourth layer are the *illustrative cases*, which show concrete examples of how each standard could actually be applied.

A good understanding of the standards, at their various levels of abstraction, is very important for a sound implementation of the next steps, intended to clarify the purposes of the evaluation, describe the system to be improved, and assess its quality.

### *Step 2: Clarifying the Purposes of the Principal Evaluation System to be Improved*

This step requires a comprehensive understanding of the needs that the evaluation is intended to serve in the specific context in which it will be used. Such an understanding has to be obtained through direct interaction with all the stakeholders associated with the evaluation and with appropriate reference to the underlying principles and guidelines reflected by the standards. We advocate the engagement of an evaluation steering committee that is representative of the stakeholders, such as the one that was used by the Lincoln, Nebraska, Public Schools to examine and reform its teacher evaluation system (Reineke, Willeke, Walsh, & Sawin, 1988). Specifically, such a group would address the following questions:

- Whose work is to be evaluated?
- Why should the evaluations be done?
- Who will use the findings?

- What decisions and/or actions will be determined or affected by the evaluations?
- Should the evaluations focus on qualifications, competence, performance, effectiveness, and/or special achievements?
- What impact is the evaluation system intended to have?

*Step 3: Describing the Existing Principal Evaluation System*

After clarifying the purposes of the evaluation system, the evaluation steering committee or other group engaged in improving the evaluation system would assemble all relevant documents (e.g., personnel policies, negotiated agreements, job descriptions, letters of appointment, rating and reporting forms). On the basis of such documents and the direct interaction with those involved in conducting the evaluation, the evaluation steering committee (or other group) would develop a written description of the evaluation system. The description should include information regarding the staffing of the evaluations, the qualifications of the evaluators, the pertinent policies, the evaluation criteria and questions, the measurement variables and procedures, the procedures for organizing and analyzing data, the reporting format and schedule, the uses of findings, the management system, and the practices in monitoring and evaluating the evaluation system.

This step is concluded by a careful examination of the description and the supporting documents in order to determine whether they contain sufficient information to assess the system against the requirements of each of the 21 standards. If the delineation and documentation of the evaluation system are incomplete, then the evaluation steering committee must recycle and adequately complete this step before proceeding.

*Step 4: Judging the Quality of the Existing Evaluation System*

Using the system description and the supporting documents *The Personnel Standards* are next applied to judge the quality of the existing principal evaluation system. This can be done by the evaluation steering committee, by a trained panel of judges, by individual evaluators, or some combination of these. Each standard has to be applied separately to determine the extent to which it is met, partially met, or not met at all. We find it useful to review the contents of each standard, then to list strengths and weaknesses of the evaluation system in relation to the standard, and finally to reach a judgment of the extent to which the evaluation system meets the standard.

On the basis of the single judgments obtained for each of the 21 standards, an overall profile for the entire evaluation system can next be

developed, thus portraying its main strengths and weaknesses. For those standards receiving low ratings, the evaluation steering committee can then review its worksheets on the specific strengths and weaknesses previously found for the pertinent standards. These lists afford a helpful basis for determining what specific steps have to be taken to fix or reform the evaluation system.

#### *Step 5: Improving the Evaluation System*

Once the strengths and weaknesses of the existing evaluation system have been identified, the evaluation steering committee can develop recommendations and a plan for improving the evaluation system. As we mentioned earlier, each of the 21 Joint Committee standards includes a list of practical guidelines to be considered when planning the improvement of a personnel evaluation system. Thus, using the applicable guidelines for each of the standards where the system is deficient provides an agenda of possible steps to take in improving the principal evaluation system.

Since it might not be feasible to implement all the recommendations that were provided, it is necessary to develop a general plan to improve the evaluation system. The general plan would have to set priorities for improvement and develop a realistic timetable for implementing the process of improvement. Such priorities have to be determined within the educational and social contexts of the principal evaluation system, and on the basis of its specific needs, preferences, constraints, and available resources for evaluation.

The preceding outline of the process for using the standards to improve principal evaluation systems and other personnel evaluation systems has been found to be very workable in field testing the draft standards and in many other studies, among them the study by Glasman and Martens, included in this issue.

#### *Closing*

Principal evaluation is critically important to helping the American society assure that schools will be effectively administered by highly qualified school principals. Such evaluations are needed throughout the career of the principal and should include evaluations for selection of students in principal education programs, certification of graduates, selection of new principals for work in schools, oversight and improvement of principal performance, and recognition and reinforcement of outstanding individual contributions.

While noteworthy developments in each of these aspects of principal evaluation are underway, the developments also are problematic, for example, in focusing on group rather than individual measures, in focusing on narrow sets of indicators, and in measuring style rather than job performance. School districts, state education departments, and universities need to carefully evaluate such developments before adopting them for use in evaluating principals.

The *Personnel Evaluation Standards*, developed in 1988 by the Joint Committee on Standards for Educational Evaluation, is a powerful tool for evaluating new principal evaluation approaches, procedures, and instruments, and for evaluating and providing direction for improving the systems that universities, state education departments, and school districts use to evaluate school principals. These standards provide direction for assuring that principal evaluations will be *ethical* and legal in their examination of an individual's aptitudes, competencies, performance, and special achievements; *useful* for decision making and obtaining direction for improvement; *feasible* for use within reasonable practical constraints; and *accurate* in the information they provide. We think that careful use of *The Personnel Evaluation Standards* to guide improvements in these areas can help educational institutions to avoid the serious mistakes and huge waste of funds that have been seen in efforts to advance teacher evaluation.

On a constructive note, the concluding section of this article presented a process by which principal evaluation improvement committees can use *The Personnel Evaluation Standards* to diagnose strengths and weaknesses in principal evaluation systems and obtain guidance for improving the systems.

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# Personnel Evaluation Standards: The Use in Principal Assessment Systems

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## Introduction

This article reports on portions of a recently completed study (Martens, 1990) which explored the operation of personnel evaluation systems in local school districts. The study focused on the evaluation of principals by their superordinates (e.g., superintendents, assistant superintendents). Of special interest was the extent to which each evaluation standard is explicitly used in each of the districts studied. For this ex-post investigation the standards employed were those developed recently by a nationally representative group of educational educators and policymakers (Joint Committee, 1988). The study found that several of the personnel evaluation standards are extensively used and that significant differences exist in the extent of use among the standards. The discussion section in the article deals with the relationship between the evaluation system and district personnel policy priorities, district contextual realities, and also with some theoretical considerations associated with evaluation as an administrative function in education.

## A Conceptual Perspective

In practice, what seems to shape a particular principal evaluation system in a given school district is the perspective which the district takes about the role of evaluation in general (e.g., Guba & Lincoln, 1981;

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House, 1980) and the role of the school principal in particular (e.g., Glasman & Nevo, 1988). Along with a few external evaluation mandates, some local realities, and selected personality characteristics of some key actors, these perspectives dictate specific features of the principal evaluation systems. This includes the system's purpose, objects, methods, and results, particularly if the system is administered by the district's central office (e.g., Castetter, 1976; Fawcett, 1979; Seyfarth, 1991; Webb, Greer, Montello, & Norton, 1987).

The most often-used label for the district's perspective about the role of evaluation is "evaluation as an administrative function" (Glasman, 1979). This perspective is, in fact, a philosophy—not necessarily science-based or measurement-based but rather value-based and priority-based. This philosophy makes evaluation an administratively-driven judgment of worth. It reasons that scientific measurement alone cannot resolve value issues and that evaluation, in contrast to research, deals primarily with such issues. It has already been shown that in administrative decision-making processes such a philosophy determines a variety of evaluation dimensions which take place before a decision is made as well as after it is made (e.g., Glasman & Fuller, 1991).

The conceptual interest in evaluation as an administrative function developed gradually, forcefully, and in response to the intensification of public demands for accountability (e.g., Cronbach & Associates, 1980; Glasman, 1986). For district administrators, a decline in discomfort with compliance to externally mandated evaluation bred a growing satisfaction with the construction of internal evaluation systems. One of the results of these developments was the systematization efforts in the area of principal evaluation. Very few controlled studies exist in this area (Glasman & Heck, 1993). On the other hand, much prescriptive literature exists, including works which call for increased comprehensiveness of evaluation systems and a call for the development of theoretical guidelines for their construction.

There is much in common among school districts regarding their perspective of the role of the principal. It is in connection with the district's view of accountability that districts' views of the role of the principal vary. It is possible that the more seriously the district perceives demands for accountability, the more likely it is that the district will consider the role of the principal as central in the district's response to these demands. One proof of the above might be the growing interest in the principal as the object of evaluation—the evaluatee. Conceptually, that which is actually being evaluated could include performance or an action, a behavior, a decision, an interaction, a result-producing activity, or even an engagement in a process.

The conceptual interest in the school principal as an evaluatee (e.g., Ginsberg, 1989) is newer than the conceptual interest in the school teacher as an evaluatee (e.g., Millman & Darling-Hammond, 1989). Often, the alleged reasons and purposes of principal evaluation activities are ambiguous, such as "we have to" or "to improve." Seldom is a mention made of more specific and clear causes or objectives, such as "we need to look at who has to be let go due to lack of sufficient funds" or "the clarity of her presentation of issues to the board needs to be examined."

Conceptually, it is worthwhile belaboring a bit the issue of ambiguities in principal evaluation. Tenure, for example, is a clear reason for evaluation. However, for a variety of reasons, principals have no tenure as principals. Improvement is a more realistic purpose, but it has not become clearer over the years. The concept of improvement continues to be an ambiguous set of aims, as are improvement activities. One proof for this assertion is the absence of specific formative evaluation instruments designed for improvement. Additionally, it appears that there are few supervisors who, on a consistent basis, diagnose evaluation data and suggest to principals ways of self-development. Who would these people be anyway? What training do they need? Essentially anything goes in evaluating principals—his/her performance, personality, activities, and so on. What is more, there is quite a bit of uncertainty about who gathers the evaluation data (e.g., Goldring, 1987), how it is gathered, how frequently, what is done with the information, by whom, and who sees the evaluation results (e.g., Glasman & Associates, 1975).

We are back to value-based ideologies and philosophies of evaluation and of the principalship. Evaluation standards are proxy measures for such philosophies. They may serve as guides not only for developing evaluation systems but also for studying them. For our study, we used a set of standards which the Joint Committee developed in 1988. The Committee membership included constituencies who have an important stake in the standards. The committee members identified the standards, assembled them, and articulated them in a systematic manner.

### **Data Sources**

No pre-existing reasons were known for the selection of a scientific sample of school districts for the study. Convenience and a low research budget dictated a choice of only one Southern California county. We sought comprehensiveness, so time limitations dictated the choice of only the seven unified school districts in that county. Twenty-seven individuals in these seven districts were contacted as follows: (a) all

seven district superintendents, (b) two additional district administrators involved in principal evaluation in each of the largest three districts, and (c) one elementary and one secondary school principal selected at random from each of the seven districts.

Altogether, then, 13 administrators were interviewed in their capacity as evaluators of principals and 14 principals were interviewed in their capacity as evaluatees. Table 1 summarizes information about the seven school districts and the 27 interviewees.

Each interviewee was asked open-ended questions about the following four topics:

1. The process through which the existing principal evaluation system was developed (including who was involved, how, what information was sought, and how the information was used).
2. The existing evaluation system (including a step-by-step account of the actual formal and informal process, the purpose(s) for the evaluation, and the procedures for gathering and reporting information).
3. The existing follow-up process (including implementation of improvement and/or dismissal procedures).
4. The existing system of evaluation training (including who is involved, how, and when).

Interviews took place between April 1989 and February 1990, first with the seven superintendents and then with the six other district administrator-evaluators and the 14 principals. All 27 interviews were identical with respect to the type of information sought and the format used to seek the information. Several of the interviewees provided supplementary written material following the interview.

### The Ex-Post Analysis

The Ex-Post analysis was performed on all interviewee responses for the purpose of determining the use of the personnel evaluation standards developed by the Joint Committee (1988). The Committee included eminent professionals, each of whom was appointed to the national committee by their respective professional society whose interest is education or evaluation or both (e.g., American Association of School Personnel Administration, American Evaluation Association, National Council on Measurement in Education, American Educational Research Association). The study employed all 21 personnel evaluation standards as follows:

1. *Propriety Standards*—There are five such standards. These standards "require that evaluations be conducted legally, ethically, and with due regard for the welfare of evaluatees and clients of the evaluations"

Table 1  
Information About Interviewees and Their School Districts

District number	Average Daily Attendance (1988-89, approx.)	Number of Schools			Interviewees (tenure in district in years)			
		Elementary	Secondary	Superintendent	District Administrator-Evaluator	Others	Elementary School	Secondary School
1	17,700	18	9	1 (2)	2 (7,3)		1 (5)	1 (10)
2	15,200	17	7	1 (1)	2 (3,2)		1 (4)	1 (8)
3	18,200	19	7	1 (15)	2 (11,17)		1 (9)	1 (28)
4	1,350	2	3	1 (1)	—		1 (7)	1 (3)
5	3,370	5	3	1 (5)	—		1 (21)	1 (3)
6	3,300	3	3	1 (2)	—		1 (5)	1 (7)
7	4,770	4	3	1 (1)	—		1 (7)	1 (3)

(Joint Committee, 1988, p. 21). Propriety standards include those pertinent to service orientation (P1), formal evaluation guidelines (P2), conflict of interest (P3), access to personnel evaluation reports (P4), and interactions with evaluatees (P5). P5, for example, reads as follows: "The evaluation should address evaluatees in a professional, considerate, and courteous manner, so that their self-esteem, motivation, professional reputations, performance, and attitude toward personnel evaluation are enhanced or, at least, not needlessly damaged" (p. 21).

2. *Utility Standards*—There are five such standards which "are intended to guide evaluations so that they will be informative, timely, and influential" (p. 45). Utility standards include those pertinent to constructive orientation (U1), defined uses (U2), evaluator credibility (U3), functional reporting (U4), and follow-up and impact (U5). U2, for example, reads as follows: "The users and the intended uses of a personnel evaluation should be identified, so that the evaluation can address appropriate questions" (p. 45).

3. *Feasibility Standards*—There are three such standards. These standards "call for evaluation systems that are as easy to implement as possible, efficient in their use of time and resources, adequately funded and viable from a number of other standpoints" (p. 71). Feasibility standards include those pertinent to practical procedures (F1), political viability (F2), and fiscal viability (F3). F2, for example, reads as follows: "The personnel evaluation system should be developed and monitored collaboratively, so that all concerned parties are constructively involved in making the system work" (p. 71).

4. *Accuracy Standards*—There are eight such standards which are intended to "require that the obtained information be technically accurate and that conclusions be linked logically to the data" (p. 83). Accuracy standards include those pertaining to defined role (A1), work environment (A2), documentation of procedures (A3), valid measurement (A4), reliable measurement (A5), systematic data control (A6), bias control (A7), and monitoring evaluation systems (A8). A4, for example, reads as follows: "The measurement procedures should be chosen or developed and implemented on the basis of the described role and the intended use, so that the inferences concerning the evaluatee are valid and accurate" (p. 83).

Each standard is accompanied by a list of procedural suggestions titled "guidelines." The guidelines are "intended to help evaluators and their audiences to meet the requirements of the evaluation standard" (p. 12). Altogether there are 197 guidelines for the 21 standards. P5—interaction with evaluatees, for example, has seven guidelines such as "conduct evaluation feedback sessions in private settings" (P5F)(p. 41). U2—de-

fined uses have six guidelines, such as "formally determine which users are authorized to see what information and enforce the restrictions" (U2E)(p. 52). F2—political viability has seven guidelines, such as "involve appropriate internal and external groups in developing personnel evaluation policies and procedures" (F2D)(p. 76). A4—valid measurement has 10 guidelines, such as "field test the measurement procedures using appropriate validation techniques" (A4F) and "ensure the validity of any measurement procedures that disproportionately affect members of any identifiable subgroup" (A4G)(p. 99).

All interviewee responses, then, were content analyzed for the purpose of determining the use of each of the 197 guidelines included in the 21 personnel evaluation standards. The initial analysis of the responses revealed the existence of six possible response categories as follows:

1. The guideline is adhered to in full.
2. The guideline is adhered to in part.
3. The guideline is not adhered to but it might be in the future.
4. The guideline is not adhered to at all.
5. It is unknown whether the guideline is adhered to.
6. It is believed that the guideline is not appropriate to be adhered to.

### Findings

Each of the 21 personnel evaluation standards contain several specific guidelines. The standard constructive orientation, for example, has 11 guidelines and, therefore, also 247 statements (27 interviewees  $\times$  11 guidelines) in which evidence can be found about the use of this standard in the seven districts studied. For each one of the 247 statements pertaining to the use of this standard, a designation was made of one of six possible uses of the guideline. The same was done for each of the other 20 standards. We will report here the percentage of only those statements designated "guideline is adhered to in full." More specifically, the number of guidelines in a given standard (11 in the above example) which received a "full use" designation, divided by the total number of guidelines in that standard, times 27 (data sources), times 100% equals the *percentage use indicator* of all guidelines in a given standard for which evidence of full use was found. Table 2 depicts the data for each of the 21 standards.

Some of the findings were expected. Principals are formally evaluated on a yearly basis and the process is generally collaborative (e.g., U1, P5), positive and fair (e.g., A7), and consistently enforced (i.e., U5, P2). Due process rights are followed (e.g., P4, U2, A1) to the degree stipulated by the California Education Code. For example, files are generally confiden-

Table 2  
*Percentage Use Indicator (PUI) of Personnel Evaluation Standards*

Order	Standard	Standard Designation	Percent Use Indicator (PUI)
1	Constructive Orientation	U1	74.0
2	Practical Procedures	F1	62.4
3	Interviews w/ Evaluatees	P5	62.3
4	Followup & Impact	U5	58.0
5	Evaluator Credibility	U3	56.0
6	Access to Personnel Evaluation Reports	P4	53.0
7	Defined Uses	U2	51.4
8	Functional Reporting	U4	51.4
9	Service Orientation	P1	50.0
10	Work Environment	A2	48.0
11	Bias Control	A7	46.0
12	Conflict of Interest	P3	43.4
13	Formal Evaluation Guidelines	P2	43.3
14	Defined Role	A1	37.0
15	Fiscal Viability	F3	33.0
16	Systematic Data Control	A6	32.0
17	Documentation of Procedures	A3	30.0
18	Valid Measurement	A4	16.0
19	Political Viability	F2	13.0
20	Monitoring Evaluation Systems	A8	2.0
21	Reliable Measurement	A5	0.0

tial and secure; evaluatees do have a right to review, discuss, and add to the final report; and in the event of dismissal, legal procedures are followed.

The process is relevant in that trivial objectives are not evaluated; rather, the significant purposes, that is, professional growth and improvement and achievement of organizational goals, are the primary focus during the evaluation process.

Some documentation exists in districts regarding the total process of principal evaluation, such as job descriptions which delineate roles and responsibilities, abbreviated evaluation process descriptions, and policies related to principal reassignment, transfer, and demotion. There is also a certain amount of formality, consistency, and documentation associated with each year's individual evaluations, such as goal-setting procedures, conferencing, observations and other data-gathering activities, and comparison of multiple information sources.

Other findings were also expected. For example, an expected set of findings is related to the use of the utility standards. All five of them—U1, U2, U3, U4, and U5—appear in the top eight standards in Table 2. These standards are intended to guide evaluations so that they will be relevant, useful, informative, timely, and influential. Furthermore, none of the utility standards shows less than 50 on the Percentage Use Indicator. These data indicate heavy use of utility standards. What seems to be useful seems to be used.

All seven school districts were found to be practically oriented in a variety of endeavors. For example, the study generated extensive use of the Standard Practical Procedures (F1). The districts' philosophy of "do only what you have to that is feasible" became operational with (F1). Almost two thirds of the guidelines in this standard were found in statements which respondents made to describe their principal evaluation systems. All interviewees pointed to the existence of relatively extensive data collection procedures. These included goal-setting conference, mid-year process conference, final conference/evaluation report, observations, discussions throughout the year, and some document analysis. All interviewees also agreed that data collection procedures caused minimal disruption and did not result in duplication of already existing information. The majority of the 27 interviewees believed that many guidelines were in place. For example, if revisions of evaluation procedures occurred, the changes would not be very substantial. Key concepts and terms were defined well and in familiar language. The roles of evaluators and evaluatees were also well defined. Periodic evaluation sessions were conducted for new evaluatees. Review of the evaluation information was adequate.

A counterintuitive finding was the extremely large interstandard difference in the extent of the standards' use—a 74% use difference. Why such a large difference? The need for all of these 21 standards is high. The guidelines which were developed represent a wide consensus by evaluators, policymakers, administrators, and educators. The Joint Committee had no difficulties in identifying an illustrative case for each of the standards. The various audiences and purposes for which the standards (Joint Committee, 1988, pp. 13-15) were developed are many and sound. Perhaps, the answer lies in the notion of tradeoffs among the standards. It is possible that the relative importance of the standards differs as a function of evaluation purposes (e.g., selection, performance review, improvement, promotion, etc.) and that different standards "might warrant more or less emphasis depending upon the particular personnel action" needed (p. 15). But there may also be problems in monitoring (A8), for example. There could be difficulties in combating biased actions (A7). The findings indicate more: inconsistency in the quality and coverage of evaluation documents, behavioral descriptors which could lead to termination, discipline plans, and appeal steps.

Documentation regarding annual activities is also much less formal and detailed than suggested by the Joint Committee standards. Perceived weaknesses in this realm include an absence of formal observation formats, a lack of written comments and conferencing following each observation and/or other data gathering instance, and few written midterm reports.

Formal and extensive training for evaluators in principles of evaluation, performance appraisal techniques, motivational methods, conflict management, and law was indicated by interviewees as an area of concern. The findings of this study also reveal that the time and emphasis on evaluation process development and revision is certainly not as extensive as suggested. Revisions are infrequent, committee participants are not drawn from a broad spectrum of personnel fields, formal feedback from users is limited, and little attention is given to formal studies of measurement procedures of validity and reliability.

A shocking finding relates to the strikingly low use of some accuracy standards and particularly Reliable Measurement (A5) and Monitoring Evaluation Systems (A8). Who would have expected that? As to the latter, interviewees' responses indicate that guidelines included in this standard were not completely in place. Evaluation procedures lack a sense of formality and regularity. Numerous "partially agree" responses were given, for example, for the following guidelines because of a lack of formal action. Among them were investigation of whether or not the evaluation process has an effect on the quantity and quality of educa-

tional outputs, identification of parts of the system that require more frequent review and monitoring, comparison of specific evaluation tasks with the evaluation plan, periodic surveying of staff members for system criticism and recommendations, a review of evaluation plans and policies against standards suggested by the Joint Committee and other relevant sources, and analysis to determine if the validity and reliability of information is current and adequate. All of these actions seem to be implemented to some extent but not on a formal and/or regular basis. Interviewees also expressed the feeling that, like most aspects of education, more money and personnel could be devoted to the evaluation process to make it truly an effective system in each district.

As to the Reliable Measurement standard, interviewees believed that the determination of performance measurement reliability is a difficult process. Some of them suggested that some work had been done in this regard, but no one said that what was done was significant. Knowledgeable interviewees disagreed that evaluation instruments were developed in a scientific way, at least by identifying internally consistent dimensions of evaluatee behavior. Some evaluatees believed that some type of training was instituted for evaluators. Evaluators believed that most of what they knew was acquired through experience. All evaluators seem to employ multiple measures and multiple occasions for data collection. However, the use of multiple observers is limited, particularly in small districts, because of shortage of personnel.

Some comforting findings included the number one ranked Constructive Orientation Standard (U1) and the third highest ranked Interaction with Evaluatees Standard (P5). It was comforting because it verified that a position orientation and an emphasis on interaction and communication can mitigate highly ambiguous and defensive mindsets, respectively. With regard to Constructive Orientation, all interviewees believed that their respective governing boards approved of and supported the personnel evaluation system. The majority of the 27 interviewees believed also that the following guidelines were in place. For example, performance standards were defined in job descriptions. There was communication and understanding of evaluation procedures and of use of results in professional development and organizational goals. Evaluator actions included the identification of performance areas for improvement and the provision of resources to help evaluatees overcome deficiencies. Only "partial use" was reported with respect to the timeliness of the evaluation feedback. Some inexperienced evaluators noted some difficulties in assisting evaluatees in improvement.

With regard to the standard of Interaction with Evaluatees, the vast majority of the interviewees felt that there was trust and understanding

and that evaluation goals and times were mutually acceptable. They also agreed that evaluation sessions were private and encouragement was definitely in place. Evaluators believed that they had had experience in human relations training. Interviewees indicated in a few districts that evaluatee feedback was collected and analyzed. Evaluators in all districts thought that scheduling of evaluation activities was done in advance and was adhered to. Only some evaluatees agreed, primarily where the evaluator was new and inexperienced, that some observation sessions had been cancelled or never formally set.

A completely different rank order of standard use emerges when one includes the category of "partial adherence to the guidelines" as an additionally significant indicator of use of the category of "full adherence to the guidelines." The most dramatic change occurs with regard to the political viability standard (F2) which is ranked (Table 2) third from the bottom. Fifty-seven percent of the guidelines were mentioned in the responses as partially followed, bringing the "full or partial use" of F2 to 80%. Likewise, 62% were added to monitoring evaluation systems (A8) ("partial") for a total of 64% of "full or partial," 39% to reliable measurement (A5) ("partial") for a total of 39% of "full or partial," 45% to fiscal viability (F3) ("partial") for a total of 78% of "full or partial," and 48% to work environment (A2) ("partial") for a total of 96% of "full or partial." Guidelines which are not too difficult to follow are shown to be in "full use." Guidelines which are indeed difficult to follow are shown as being followed at least "in part" (e.g., reliable and valid measurement, political and fiscal viability). These are encouraging results.

### Discussion

While in theory standards reflect ideal states as well as devices to measure deviation of the real states from the ideal, this was not the intention of our analysis. We conducted an ex-post analysis of explicit use of the personnel evaluation standards and the analysis revealed a relatively extensive use of the standards by the seven unified school districts in one Southern California county. An interesting issue relates to the relevance of the personnel evaluation standards to principal evaluation policies of school districts. Can anything be said about these policies from the data gathered in this study and described in brief in this article?

One assumption might be that different policies call for different uses of different standards. The range of reported use of the standards was large indeed. The three "most fully" used standards—Constructive Evaluation (U1), Practical Procedures (F1), and Interactions With Evaluatee

(P5)—were reported to be used considerably more than the two "least fully" used—Evaluation System Monitoring (A8) and Reliability of Measurement (A5). The size of the difference between the most and the least fully used standards cannot be explained in terms of standard appropriateness because only one respondent in only one case (P5) suggested that the evaluation standard is inappropriate. In all other cases, respondents thought that the standards were appropriate. It is possible, however, that the differences in standard use are associated with differences in the nature of some standards as they are perceived by the districts and/or with differences in how districts decided to implement these standards. For example, developing reliable measurement (A5) requires more expertise than treating evaluatees with professionalism and consideration (P5). Developing reliable measurement is also more complex and costly, as it making the evaluation procedures formal and regular and monitoring the entire system (A8). On the other hand, developing evaluation which is constructive (U1) and evaluation procedures that are practical (F1) is, perhaps, of high priority, useful, responsive to legal requirements, and relatively easily accepted and implementable.

Policy-driven considerations associated with differential use of standards by type of standard could also be hypothesized. Utility standards are found in Table 2 among the top eight rankings, propriety standards between the 3rd and 13th rankings, feasibility standards between the 2nd and 19th rankings, and accuracy standards in the bottom half of the table—10th to 21st. Utility considerations can be easily understood as having top priority. They are intended to make evaluation informative, timely, and influential. Propriety considerations are also important to school districts. They are intended to insure that evaluation procedures address ethical and legal principles. Accuracy considerations can be easily understood as the most difficult to achieve. They are intended to produce sound information. As to feasibility standards, they are intended to promote evaluations with characteristics that vary in terms of implementation difficulty. They include, for example, a standard which calls for practical procedures (F1—second "most fully" used) and one which calls for political viability (F2—third "least fully" used).

It is certainly imaginable, if not assumed, that the size of the school district may be a significant determinant of the district's policy with regard to the use of principal evaluation standards (e.g., Martens, 1990). A preliminary comparison was made of the use of the standards between the three large school districts in the sample (15,200-18,000 ADA) and four small ones (1,350-4,770 ADA). With respect to 17 of the 21 standards, the mean per district "full use" response percentages were considerably higher in the large than in the small districts. The reverse

was true in the case of the remaining four standards, but the differences were less than one percentage point (Martens, 1990).

In general terms, it can be argued that the need to formalize principal evaluation processes in large school districts is greater than in small ones. After all, large school districts employ more evaluatees (principals) as well as evaluators (central office personnel). But more specifics are needed to explain the differences.

Small districts may have only a small need, if any, for a formalized evaluation structure. As a consequence they may be slow to develop one. The mean per district in the four small districts of "full use" response percentage of Practical Procedures (F1) was only 54.3 while the corresponding percentage in the three large districts was 73.3. The large difference with respect to the use of Systematic Data Control (A6) may relate to the difference in need. Small districts may not be very far along (compared to large districts) in the development and adoption of the job descriptions of their principals. Thus, the difference associated with the use of Defined Role (A1) is relatively large.

Other policy issues are relevant here. Length of tenure in the role of evaluator and/or evaluatee may explain differences in the use of standards between large and small districts. When a superintendent is new in a small district, standard use may be lower than usual. The newness of the superintendent in a large school district may not affect the use of standards as much. Evaluators in two of the four small districts in the sample were new. Evaluation system formalization process was quite low in these two districts. The use of Functional Reporting (U4) depends on evaluation experience. Large districts used this standard much more than small districts did. The length of experience of evaluatee with a given evaluator is also important. Small districts displayed a smaller use of Conflict of Interest (P3) than large districts did. Apparently, short principals' tenure could be related to less conflict of interest with the evaluator. But the matter is far more complex than that as it is associated with the ways bias is handled (Martens, 1990).

In large districts certain measures are automatically built in to allow for control of bias where this is a concern. A number of management personnel in addition to the primary evaluator can be (and are, as has been revealed) involved in evaluation activities. Other management personnel (including the superintendent) can be called upon during the year to provide supplementary assistance to the evaluatee regarding suggested performance improvement methods. In addition, if an area for evaluatee improvement is seen to be outside of the evaluator's realm of expertise, different personnel can be consulted. Their advice can also be sought before an evaluatee's report is finalized to check for accuracy and lack of

bias. As a last resort, personnel other than the original evaluator can fulfill evaluation responsibilities singly, or as a team, if bias is suspected or alleged.

The limited number of district office personnel in smaller districts can present a problem in this area. In some small districts, in addition to the superintendent/evaluator, there are usually two other certificated management employees in the district office, that is, assistant superintendents and/or directors of business and of educational services. These people could fulfill the above activities. Because of the nature of their normal responsibilities, however, it is likely that their expertise and experience related to principal evaluation would not be all inclusive. In districts with only a superintendent/evaluator and no other certified management personnel other than principals, the potential problems in a case of alleged bias are evident; no one else can provide assistance and/or undertake the responsibilities of the superintendent. This may be controlled for perhaps by having another principal involved, by bringing in outside personnel for advice, and/or by officially hiring an outside evaluator. The latter alternative seems to be a very rare circumstance.

Other than this one area, and, to a limited degree, a lack of time because of the many and varied demands placed on an administrator in a very small district, size should not preclude the adoption of a rigorous and high quality principal evaluation process.

### **Significance**

From a practical perspective it may be extremely difficult for any district to incorporate in full all of the standards proposed by the Joint Committee. Time, personnel, and monetary limitations exist. In addition, each district's policy about evaluation and/or about the role of the principal may not be conducive to the use of some of these standards. It may be advisable for districts to consider creating direct and formal associations between the evaluation of their principals and specific subsequent personnel actions pertinent to them. The use of standards may help mitigate against convoluted, restrictive, and time-consuming legal proceedings. Emphasis on documentation may be helpful. Additional time and effort, would, of course, be required to locate and implement enhanced documentation. Districts sharing of information, procedures, and document format, however, could serve to decrease the burden of such activities. Institutions of higher learning could actively serve as providers of augmented training in the expertise areas cited above since private inservices and workshops are relatively limited according to interviewees.

From a methodological perspective, the focus on evaluation standard use as a post-test tool with which to describe principal evaluation practices turned out to be highly beneficial. Highly informative data were gathered which appear to have covered a variety of components of the actual evaluation process.

The choice of the small sample of districts located in only one county turned out to be important. It permitted a preliminary cross district examination which rested primarily on the possible relationship between district size and principal evaluation practices. The study identified possible opportunities and constraints in several dimensions of the evaluation practices. A possible future examination of size and evaluation practices should be designated with rigor.

Several theoretical questions arise from this study in addition to the possible relation of district size and the district's personnel evaluation policy. For example, how do structural organizational factors, personal preferences (superintendent's philosophy), political arrangements associated with principal evaluation for selection and assignment, and ceremonial treatments of success and accomplishments affect the district's policy of principal evaluation for improvement? What decisions do districts actually make as a result of the use of the standards in the evaluation? And finally, what connections, if any, are there between the principal evaluation policies and practice and student achievement-based accountability considerations?

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# Principal Assessment Under Restructured Governance

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A principal abruptly departs a school district she "grew up in" professionally for a position in a neighboring community. There are rumors, behind her move, of a personality conflict with the superintendent. In another locale, a principal "fights" a reassignment by his superintendent and school board, with the help of a group of angry, keep-our-principal parents. The parents claim that the superintendent has been singularly noncommunicative regarding any rationale behind this excellent administrator's ouster. In a third district, a period of school-site turmoil and uncertainty follows the superintendent's sudden announcement of full-scale administrative transfers. The superintendent observes privately that principals become too well entrenched in their schools if left in place too long. They should be moved often from school to school around the district.

These are the common end-products of mysterious and arcane traditions of principal "assessment" in public education. Whim, person-to-person conflict, a bit of political maneuvering, and some "who's-in-control-here" strategizing are far more likely to guide evaluations of the performance of building principals than are precise "indicators" of administrative accomplishment.

Admittedly, emphases upon some evidence of instructional effectiveness, goal attainment, personnel development and teacher satisfaction, curricular improvement, and enhanced school-community relations are

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increasingly part of the language and literature of principal evaluation (Duke & Stiggins, 1985). Nevertheless, practicing principals in most communities know full well that a set of often vague and below-the-surface expectations of administrative behavior are the "real stuff" of performance assessment and accountability. Such expectations are not uncommonly buried in the conflicting messages of the superintendent who says: "I leave my principals alone to run their schools. But, I tell them 'no surprises.' I don't want to hear second-hand about an incident I was unaware of" (Crowson & Morris, 1991, p. 207).

If, then, the "real stuff" of performance evaluation is not easily fathomed under top-down traditions of school district administration, what becomes of principal assessment under redesigned, bottom-up decision making and governance?

The purpose of this article is to explore the consequences of new systems of shared decision making and governance for the assessment of principals. These consequences derive from important changes in professional relationships among principals, teachers, district administrators, and parents. They also derive from important anticipated and unanticipated changes in principals' work roles, expectations for job performance, and mechanisms for accountability.

Our discussion is based on case studies of two Chicago-area school districts that have made substantial progress expanding teachers' professional roles in school and district-level governance—Glenview, Illinois and Hammond, Indiana. While each of these districts has implemented different forms of teacher leadership and participatory decision making since the mid-1980s, the consequences for principals' work and for their assessment and accountability have only recently become apparent. As we argue below, many of these consequences are "process produced"; that is, they become evident only as principals, teachers, and other organizational participants begin to act out their new roles and relationships in restructured governance systems. Because they are produced in process, it is difficult to chart or explain the full range and dynamics of consequences for principal assessment even in districts that have implemented new governance systems for several years. Indeed, there is little to be found in the extant literature on restructured governance in school organizations to suggest specifically just what such "processed-produced" effects might be (see Malen & Ogawa, 1988). Therefore, our analysis is exploratory and suggestive.

In the sections that follow, we present a conceptual framework that guides our discussion. We then turn to the cases, describing first the districts and their new governance systems and then presenting initial findings about the consequences of these systems for principals.

### Conceptual Framework

While the education literature is largely silent, theory and research on expanded employee participation and governance in other organizations, particularly industrial organizations, provide a framework for exploring possible consequences of shared decision making and site-based management for principal assessment. This framework is suggested by two hypotheses concerning influence and control in participatory organizations (Bartölke, Eschweiler, Flechsenberger, & Tannenbaum, 1982). The first is a "power equalization" hypothesis, which suggests a tendency in participatory organizations towards a reduction of power and status differences between supervisors and subordinates (Strauss, 1963). According to Kavcic and Tannenbaum (1981):

The rank and file exercises a degree of control in the participative organization that it does not exercise in the nonparticipative organization, thus reducing (if not eliminating) the large power differential that ordinarily exists between groups at the bottom and at the top of the hierarchy. (p. 401)

A second hypothesis suggests that employee participation and governance increase the total amount of control in an organization (see Bartölke et al., 1982; Tannenbaum, 1976). Increases may come from growth in employee control with or without reductions in management control. March and Simon (1958) suggest another possibility: "'Participative management' can be viewed as a device for permitting management to participate more fully in the making of decisions as well as a means for expanding the influence of lower echelons in the organization" (p. 54).

Indeed, Bartölke et al. (1982) offer a corollary to this second hypothesis. They contend that if employee participation does in fact enhance the control exercised by members, it may also increase the accountability and control to which members are subject:

The control that members exercise within the company is, after all, exercised over other members. Thus, if the likelihood of exercising more control is one of the benefits of participation to members, the likelihood of being subject to greater control is perhaps one of the costs. (p. 395)

These hypotheses suggest several consequences of restructured school governance for principal assessment. These consequences concern (a) persons to whom principals are accountable, (b) subjects of principals' accountability, and (c) level of principals' accountability. It is conceivable that only a very minor change could occur in principal assessment and

evaluation. Studies of the German tradition of worker participation, "mitbestimmungsrecht," find that a hierarchical distribution of control persists in the most participative of that nation's companies. Bartölke et al. (1982) conclude that "participation appears to have the effect of increasing the control exercised by workers without decreasing that of managers" (p. 394). One might expect, then, that teacher participation with principals in school-site decision making could leave relatively unaffected the accommodations and "zones of acceptance" (Kunz & Hoy, 1976) that define authority relationships among teachers, principals, and the district office. Thus little change would occur in what principals are accountable for and to whom they are accountable.

It is also conceivable that participative governance changes the subjects for which principals are accountable and heightens expectations for performance. Given the idiosyncrasies of principal assessment described earlier, principal assessment has been characterized traditionally as product-oriented (Duke & Stiggins, 1985; Glasman, 1979). Under participative decision making, principals may become accountable for the integrity of shared governance processes. They may also remain accountable for products—decisions that are made with or by others. Indeed, pressure for principal performance may increase from the central office because of the high-risk, high-profile nature of participatory decision-making initiatives (see Kerchner & Koppich, 1991).

This situation may present a conundrum for principals. They may be held accountable by district administration for presiding over processes that result in decisions over which they have less influence but for which they may remain accountable. It would not be surprising, therefore, to find that principals become more involved in and develop new capacities to influence school-level decision-making in order to "protect" themselves from "bad" decisions made by others. On the other hand, participatory governance could reduce the subjects for which principals alone are held accountable. Reduced accountability could increase *de facto* the capacities of principals to exercise discretion and influence in upward relationships with district administration (see Kipnis & Schmidt, 1988; Mowday, 1978). This might provide a bit of readjusted control that principals have lost to central offices in recent years of increased state regulation in public education (Glasman, 1986). Increased involvement in participative decision making and reduced upward accountability may explain why German managers of participative companies perceived themselves to exercise more influence overall than did managers in less participative companies (Bartölke et al., 1982).

Finally, it is possible that participative governance could exert a marked change in vital "stakeholder" relationships in the school organi-

zation. These relationships are the very foundation of principal evaluation by the central office (see Henry, Dickey, & Areson, 1991). Smylie and Brownlee-Conyers (1992), for example, suggest that central offices may hold principals accountable for developing productive working relationships with teacher leaders and for teacher leaders' job performance. The district office may also turn to teacher leaders to gather information to assess principals' job performance. Indeed, principals may find themselves accountable not only to the district office but also to teachers with whom they are supposed to work collaboratively. Goldring (1989) identifies similar consequences in her analysis of district-level turns to "parent reactions" as a key source of information to evaluate principals.

Whether formally established as a designated component of evaluation or informally considered (often *sub rosa*) as one element in principal evaluation, "stakeholders" are central players in educational accountability. New stakeholders bring altered interests, goals, organizational identities, and values to any evaluative process (see Swidler, 1979). It stands to reason that increased saliency and centrality of shared governance can change the positioning of teachers, and indeed parents, as key stakeholders. This change can be significantly at odds with the traditional "culture of authority" that Elmore (1987) describes, wherein "teachers are given clearly subordinate status in a hierarchy that rewards status in direct proportion to distance from direct contact with students" (p. 68).

### The Districts

The first district examined in this article, Glenview, Illinois, is located in Chicago's northern suburbs. It is a predominantly white, professional, middle- and upper-income community of single family homes and apartment complexes. Several large Chicago-area corporations have headquarters there. Many residents commute to work in downtown Chicago. Glenview includes a contiguous Naval Air Station and a large mobile-home park which make the community more racially and economically diverse than its location would suggest. Among its neighboring affluent north suburban communities, Glenview is near the bottom in average socioeconomic status. The Glenview community is served by separate elementary and high school districts. The elementary district, which is focused upon in this article, employs approximately 230 teachers and 13 school and district-level administrators. It enrolls approximately 3,200 kindergarten through 8th grade students in 7 schools (Smylie, 1992).

Hammond is located at the northwestern tip of Indiana between Gary and the Chicago metropolitan area. It is for the most part a middle- and lower-middle income, racially diverse, residential community where plant managers for the local steel industry have lived. Over the past 20 years, Hammond has experienced major demographic and economic changes associated with the fall of that industry. Declining numbers of manufacturing jobs have been followed by increases in unemployment and poverty. The Hammond school district employs approximately 880 teachers and 70 school and district-level administrators. It enrolls almost 14,000 kindergarten through 12th grade students in 24 schools (Smylie & Tuerner, 1992).

Beginning in the mid-1980s, both districts began experimenting with different forms of teacher leadership and shared decision making to enhance teacher career development and promote school improvement. In 1984, Glenview established a number of individual teacher leadership roles at both the school and district level (see Smylie, 1992). These new roles aimed to expand teachers' responsibilities beyond the classroom by involving them with school and district administrators in curriculum development, teacher inservice education, and school improvement initiatives. In 1989, Glenview's Board of Education approved a new 3-year collective bargaining agreement that fundamentally restructured decision making and governance throughout the district. Beginning with a single-school experiment in 1981, Hammond developed and incrementally implemented a model of participatory decision making and site-based management in schools throughout the district. The following year, Hammond's Board of School Trustees agreed to a new 11-year pact with its teachers union that formally established participatory decision making and site-based management as the district's primary governance system. Each of these bargaining agreements and the governance systems they established are described below.

### *The Glenview Constitution*

Glenview's 1989 collective bargaining agreement is described by the district not as its contract but its "Constitution" (Glenview Public Schools, 1989). The language and spirit of this document differ substantially from traditional teacher contracts in the district and indeed from traditional teacher contracts generally (see Kerchner & Koppich, 1991). It contains a set of "by-laws" necessarily found in any collectively bargained agreement concerning compensation and benefits, leave and transfer policies, and retirement. However, it is driven by a set of principles about the learning and development of children and the pro-

fessional obligations of teachers and administrators employed by the district. These principles lay a foundation for expanded teacher work roles. The Constitution sketches these roles in ambitious but intentionally general and ambiguous terms, as “expectations . . . to serve as guidelines to all involved in the implementation of this agreement” (p. 5). As a state-level union official who helped Glenview develop this agreement explained, “Constitutions are not fundamentally about work rules. They are about the processes that parties go through in order to establish their own rules.”

While the Constitution affirms the School Board’s final responsibility for district governance, it states that in exercising its role, the Board “shares with the professional staff through a collaborative consensus decision-making model the responsibility for determining how the goals and mission of the district might be achieved” (p. 4). To this end, the Constitution creates new opportunities for teachers to participate in and make program and policy decisions at the school and district levels. These opportunities shift the locus of governance and decision making from school and district administration and from traditional union-management negotiations and grieving procedures to collaborative deliberations among teachers and administrators.

Under the Constitution, each elementary attendance area, consisting of one K-3 primary school and its paired grade 4-6 intermediate school, is to establish a Local School Council (LSC). LSC membership consists of four parents, four teachers, and the principal of each school. The district’s one junior high has its own LSC. The LSCs are to form goals and expectations for their schools and evaluate initiatives designed at the school level to achieve them. Each school is also to establish its own Building Council to develop school-specific policies and procedures for the school organization, budget, and educational program. Building Council membership is to include teachers and the school’s principal in whatever structure of representation each building decides upon.

From the school-level upward, the Glenview Constitution establishes three district-level standing committees for, separately, teacher personnel policy and welfare, finance and budget, and curriculum and instruction. A subcommittee structure further divides responsibility for the latter committee by subject area (e.g., reading and language arts, math, etc.). The membership of each standing committee consists of three teachers elected by teachers across the district, a fourth teacher who is union president, one principal, a district central-office administrator, and the district superintendent. The Constitution stipulates that the chairperson of each of these committees be a teacher. Committee decisions

require Board approval only if they require adjustments in the budget or appropriation of additional funds.

Finally, the Constitution establishes a district-level Coordinating Council to monitor implementation and to act on any appeals of lower-level committee or council decisions. The Coordinating Council also has a teacher majority; its membership consists of the three teachers who chair the standing committees, the union president, a principal, the superintendent, and the president of the Board of Education. Decisions of this body are final and binding.

The Constitution establishes specific procedures for teacher-administrator collaboration in decision making and governance at both school and district levels. Decisions of LSCs, Building Councils, and district-level committees must be reached by consensus whereby every committee member, teacher as well as administrator, must agree to support a decision or accept the decision and agree not to block it. This process is promoted by limits the Constitution places on disputes that may be grieved and by entrusting the resolution of most previously grievable disputes to the new decision-making bodies, particularly the Coordinating Council.

#### *Hammond's School-Based Restructuring Process*

The model of participatory decision making and site-based management contained in Hammond's 1990 bargaining agreement evolved from an earlier model of shared governance that had been implemented in the district since the early 1980s. That model—the School Improvement Process (SIP)—created a nested, team-oriented, decision-making structure for each school. At the center was a Core Team composed of the principal, one or two teachers, and a parent. This team was responsible for setting a school improvement agenda and facilitating the work of a larger school-level committee called a SIP Team. The SIP Team consisted of 9 to 25 teachers and parents, depending on the size of the school, and served as the primary decision-making body for school improvement. The principal could be a member of the SIP Team or be called for specific information or expertise. The principal could not serve as Team chair. A majority of SIP Team members had to be teachers. SIP Team decisions were subject to review by a district-level Program Review Committee and the Board of School Trustees. No provisions were made concerning how Core and SIP Team members were to be selected.

SIP incorporated a multistage, "vision-to-action," consensus-based, decision-making process. It specified "pyramiding" of teacher, parent,

and community inputs for SIP Team deliberations. It also specified "stages" for goal setting and program development. At the implementation stage, small ad hoc task groups called Design Teams were created to develop specific programs and strategies to achieve SIP Team goals. Design Teams broaden participation of teachers and parents in the school improvement process.

In 1990, Hammond replaced SIP with the School-Based Restructuring Process (SBRP). SBRP retained SIP's nested structure of Core Teams, Planning Teams (formerly SIP Teams), Design Teams, and the district-level Program Review Committee. SBRP also retained SIP's vision-to-action planning, pyramiding, and consensus decision making. However, SBRP went further than SIP to denote in greater detail functions and relationships among Core, Planning, and Design Teams. SBRP articulated more specifically areas for Planning Team decision making: (a) educational goals, (b) instructional programs, (c) resource allocation and scheduling, (d) teacher professional development, and (e) organizational restructuring. It also outlined Core and Planning Team memberships, stipulating not only the number of teachers but also numbers of parents, students, and community representatives. Finally, SBRP outlined specific peer selection procedures for appointing Team members.

### *Attention to Principals*

These new governance structures in Glenview and Hammond are grounded primarily in redefined roles for teachers. In both districts, implications for principals were largely ignored. The issue of the principal's role in site-based management arose during several Constitution planning meetings in Glenview. In the end, however, that issue was never fully addressed before implementation. The Constitution did not clearly articulate what principals were responsible for as members of LSCs, Building Councils, and district-level committees. Nor did it delineate clearly what areas of decision making and governance were the province of the councils and committees and which remained the prerogative of the principal. At the same time, the Constitution heightened expectations and accountability for all professional personnel—teachers and administrators—in the performance of their roles, whatever those roles might be.

Likewise, Hammond's SIP paid scant attention to the changing roles of the principal. It did not determine *a priori* which decisions were to be made by Core and SIP Teams and which were to remain the prerogative of the principal or district administration. Nor did SIP articulate the

principal's responsibility and authority as a member of Core and SIP Teams.

SBRP attempted to describe more specifically the principal's role in decision making. Principals were now required to be members of both Core and Planning Teams. They were expected to become part of the consensus required for decision making, yet, SBRP did not define specifically what role they would play in that process. SBRP provided principals veto power over Planning Team decisions. At the same time, it outlined procedures for principals to present objections during deliberations that, if not followed, would preclude them from exercising the veto after decisions were made. Despite this attention to procedure, and despite delineating general areas for Planning Team decision making, SBRP did not go much further than SIP to define parameters of principals' responsibility and authority.

The new governing structures in both these districts placed building principals in ambiguous and potentially precarious positions. Implicitly, there were expectations that principals would try to help, not hinder or sabotage, these new decision-making structures. They were expected to adapt their work-a-day activities to accommodate the processes of shared decision making. They were also expected to participate actively as members of new decision-making bodies. Implicitly, it was also expected that principals who were unable or unwilling to adapt would leave the district. Indeed, some have elected to do so.

In order to meet these expectations, principals would have to negotiate and co-construct their roles and responsibilities with new decision-making bodies (see Smylie & Brownlee-Conyers, 1992). They might have to relinquish or redefine traditional prerogatives and control in governing and administering their schools. It should not be concluded that either Glenview or Hammond abandoned their principals completely to this ambiguity. As a central office administrator in Glenview recognized, "There is no doubt that the success of [shared governance] at the building level is with them." During the first few years of implementation, both districts provided staff development activities in group process skills and consensus decision making to help principals and teachers work well together on new decision-making bodies. In addition, central office administrators counseled principals individually and in groups to help them understand and accept the new decision-making structures and processes.

Still, issues surrounding changes in principals' roles, responsibilities, and professional relationships were largely left to be "worked out" in process. Not the least of these issues concerns principal assessment and accountability. To date, neither district has formally developed new

criteria for principal performance or new mechanisms for assessment and evaluation that are consistent with their new roles under restructured governance. One central office administrator in Hammond acknowledged that, despite changing expectations for their roles and responsibilities, “we’re still evaluating our principals on the same evaluation model and mindset as we always have.”

### Processed-Produced Effects

As we suggested earlier, participatory governance may have several important “process-produced” consequences for principals’ assessment. Those consequences may concern both equalization and increase in accountability and control. We speculated that these consequences could range from a continued, little-effects maintenance of traditional patterns of hierarchical authority, to a some-effects alteration of expectations and influence capacities, to a larger-effects impact upon stakeholder interactions behind principal evaluation. Interestingly, there is evidence, at this time, in the two cases supporting each of these patterns.

#### *Glenview*

Most everyone in Glenview recognized that the Constitution would change the role of the principal dramatically. Yet, no one knew with certainty what that role would become. Indeed, ambiguity surrounding the principal’s role related directly to uncertainty surrounding others’ roles in school governance. The Superintendent recalled:

There are a lot of questions. . . . Parents say, “What are you involving us for?” Teachers are saying, “We don’t want to be involved in all the decisions.” And principals are asking, “What is my role?” Even central office people are grappling with their roles.

For principals, one of the greatest sources of ambiguity concerned decision-making prerogatives of the Building Councils. During the first year of implementation, according to one district-level administrator, both principals and teachers began to “divide up” decisions by whether they should properly be made by “consensus, consultation, and command.” In some schools, parcelling of decisions reinforced traditional “zones of acceptance.” Teachers gravitated toward decisions that affected their work in classrooms; principals maintained prerogative over building management, the school budget, and school-community relations. In other schools, however, new zones were negotiated. Teachers

pressed upon traditional areas of principals' decision making. Principals struggled with "letting go."

Negotiations of which decisions are whose to make were influenced in various ways by principals' perceptions of their accountability. Principals sensed correctly that they were under a great deal of pressure and scrutiny from the central administration, and indeed from the teachers' union, to make the Constitution work. Some principals attempted to establish a strong guiding influence in every aspect of council work. Others sought to buffer themselves by increasing the scope of teachers' responsibility and removing themselves from the center of decision making. The teacher union president recalled an instance involving a new building principal:

[The former principal] was very comfortable dealing with the budget completely and the teachers really didn't want to deal with it. [The new principal] came in and said [to the teachers], "You are responsible for your grade level and all the curriculum areas. I don't see where I can make a judgement about ordering materials for you, saying what materials I think you should have or shouldn't have based on my input on the budget. You ought to be in charge of that, to take control of the budget. . . . A couple of teachers said, "No, we don't want to do it." Then [the principal] would say, "I am not going to do it."

Principals found that they assumed much of the responsibility for promoting and maintaining the fidelity of shared governance and consensus decision-making processes in their schools. One principal reported, "If you don't follow the system, you get into trouble." This principal recognized that "trouble" could come both from central administration and from teachers.

Principals had to work with teachers to promote their involvement in shared decision making. They also had to negotiate proper roles for parents. A district-level administrator recalled:

At one level there are parents [on Local School Councils] just waiting to get direction from the principals. Others see their role as running the school and deciding the curriculum in the school. So for the parents who are waiting for the principal to come up with the answers, the principal has been doing a lot of coaching on getting them involved. In schools where they want to change the curriculum, it's been, "Hey, that's not your responsibility. That is a district-level responsibility not the Local School Council's."

Finally, principals found themselves accountable for implementation of decisions made by their schools' councils. Not only would they have

to abide by those decisions themselves, they bore responsibility for ensuring that teachers would abide by them as well. This responsibility created a potential dilemma that pitted performance of the facilitative, collegial role inherent in the shared decision-making process against the exercise of hierarchical control mechanisms, traditionally associated with the principal's role, to assure decision compliance. This dilemma posed considerable accountability risks to principals. On one hand, if principals had to exercise top-down control mechanisms to assure decision compliance, they could be accused of violating collaborative processes. On the other hand, if they did not exercise such mechanisms, they could be held accountable if teachers failed to comply with decisions.

One principal's dilemma was shared by a central office administrator:

He called me one day and said he wanted to talk. He said the Building Council was talking about how we could enhance communication with parents and we talked about how everybody will send home a weekly newsletter from the class to the parents. We will have once-a-month parents' night over some aspect of the school curriculum or whatever, and two teachers blocked it. He said "I can't make an administrative decision, but I'm going to get them in their evaluation." I said "You may not say [to the teachers] you are required to have a newsletter, but you are required to come up with ways to improve your communication with parents."

Exercising traditional roles and responsibilities in areas not explicitly marked for shared decision making led several principals into minefields of below-the-surface expectations and unresolved conflicts concerning what their new roles should be. In one school, for example, a principal exercised his legitimate, traditional authority to deny a probationary teacher tenure. According to central office administrators, the principal properly followed district evaluation and termination procedures. Yet this principal's decision created a maelstrom of discontent among teachers in the school, not so much about the decision itself (although there were some who sided with the terminated teacher) but about how the decision was made. Teachers met in each other's homes to discuss whether they should have been consulted. They talked about whether such decisions should be the prerogative of the principal or shared with the Building Council. Indeed, they considered grieving the principal's decision as a violation of decision-making processes articulated in the Constitution. The principal was dumbstruck, caught in the middle of performing his role under an accustomed set of expectations and being

chastised on the basis of another set of unspoken, "processed-produced" expectations.

This type of situation, along with others, reveals important changes occurring in accountability and control relationships between principals and teachers. On one hand, the ascendance of teachers in school governance has led, according to one district administrator, to the loss of "position identity." Indeed, the decisions that teachers now have a hand in making alter fundamentally "stakeholder" relationships among principals, teachers, and parents. Through these shared decisions, teachers have symbolically and in fact increased their influence in the school organization and principals have become more accountable to teachers who now share in decision making.

For example, a new district-wide teacher evaluation system, developed by the teacher-majority Personnel Committee, defined specific criteria and clinical supervision procedures principals were to follow to assess and judge teacher performance. In the words of the teacher union president, "teachers feel more comfortable because there is more accountability on the part of the evaluator, the principal. [The system] tells everyone what the principal should be looking for." The process of clinical supervision also expands the teacher's influence in any improvement processes associated with the evaluation. Traditionally, principals had discretion to recommend and mandate particular steps teachers should take to improve their practice and evaluation. Under the new evaluation system, these steps are negotiated between the teacher and principal.

In another example, the district-level, teacher-dominated curriculum subcommittees are beginning to define curriculum and instructional strategies at the school level (see Smylie, 1992). These committees have assumed much of the principal's traditional leadership in curriculum development and improvement. They have also created expectations that principals are accountable to the committees to "get new curriculum done." For many principals, this means learning more about and becoming more involved in instruction at the classroom level. It also means limiting principals' discretion to promote their own interpretations and preferences as instructional leaders.

A second altered "stakeholder" relationship concerns parents. Traditionally, principals served as a buffer for teachers from external pressures and influences. They were responsible for responding to parents' needs, concerns, and complaints and accountable to them for school policies and decisions. Under the Constitution, principals are finding that such responsibility and accountability could now be shared with teachers. As one district administrator put it:

We've been very paternalistic in protecting teachers. . . . Principals are saying now that teachers are starting to find out demands that parents make, the information they want, and all that. They're finding out that when you get a demanding parent you don't just say "bug off."

Indeed, principals are also beginning to find that their accountability to their own faculties can now be shared. As one principal explained:

There isn't the same "they" anymore. . . . In our last faculty meeting people started to say "they" made some changes in the curriculum and I know that the "they" meant administration. I said, "Wait a minute. Who made the changes? Teachers made the changes. The teachers who are running these committees."

While principals now appear most accountable for promoting shared decision-making processes and decision implementation, and while they may point to others to explain "bad" decisions, there is lingering concern that, ultimately, they will be held responsible for the quality and effects of shared decisions. This concern relates to the Superintendent's acknowledgement of his ultimate accountability for shared decision making in the district:

The bottom line is kids, what's happening to kids. If this isn't improving for kids, it's not worth it. . . . Sooner or later the pie is going to hit me in the face and [the Board is] going to say "OK, this has cost us a bundle over the past few years. What more are we getting?" That's a legitimate question.

That this bottom line accountability may be passed along to principals amplifies the complexities, contradictions, and ambiguities of principal accountability that now exist under the Constitution.

#### *Hammond*

The heart of the evaluative dilemma for Hammond principals is summarized by one informant who observed: "Wait a minute. We're evaluated in terms of what happens in our building. Now you're saying this committee can develop this program, do this or that, and then I'm evaluated on whether or not that worked."

Turning much of the governance of the school over to a teacher-majority committee, then continuing an evaluative process that places the central burden of school-by-school accountability squarely on the backs of the principals "just doesn't wash," the principals argued.

Initially, under SIP, many principals responded in predictable fashion. They developed control strategies to buffer themselves against the ambiguity and uncertainty of restructured governance. Several principals allegedly handpicked SIP Team members who would promote their points of view. Others sought to sway SIP Team agendas toward "safe" issues and influence deliberations toward the "correct" end point. Clearly, in some schools principals did provide unfettered opportunities for teachers to collaborate with administration and participate actively in school-level decision making. However, in other schools, SIP Teams functioned at the discretion and under the strict control of the principal (see Smylie & Tuerner, 1992).

Principals' accountability concerns were a major impetus for provision under SBRP that each principal has the authority to exercise a veto ("put up a stop sign") whenever he or she believes some decision making has been inconsistent with the best interests of the school and its children. By no means unanimous in this demand, however, some principals made it clear that they preferred the opportunities to duck responsibility that a lack of veto power provided. They wanted to be able to say, claimed one subject: "Hey, it's not my responsibility, [the Planning Team] put this in place, I didn't."

Interestingly, the veto provision continued a tradition of centering accountability upon the shoulders of the principal. The decision was consistent with a sense throughout the district that the schools were still in need under restructuring (and perhaps even more so) of "strong" administrative leadership—with "a strong central figure of authority." Moreover, the sense was that restructuring could not hope to work without the active and willing support of the principals, support most unlikely without the veto. That the principals responded to the combined call for leadership and the continuing sense of accountability that was earned with the veto is evidenced in some of their comments:

*Principal 1:* I've got some teachers that are determined to make it work. And I've mentioned it to you earlier that I give them leeway to go on and get the job done. And they decide what they want to do and they come back and let me know. And sometimes there are legal things that prohibit them from doing what they want to do. But they come back to me and bring it to me for my final stamp of approval. Not that I'm the king or anything like that. Anything that goes out of here that's not right, I'm going to have to take the blame for it. So I'm going to make sure it's right before it goes out.

*Principal 2:* They're free to come up with . . . in fact I have people come in to me all the time with ideas. Sometimes I have to say that I

don't think that's a good idea, but let's take a look at it. So they feel comfortable with that. But it's very difficult in a building this large to always stay true to the philosophy of restructuring, to the philosophy of site-based management, to all these things because sometimes I still need to stand up and say, "We can't do this."

*Principal 3:* The school board can't give up the fact that they are not supposed to go into individual buildings and find out what the heck's going on; they are policymakers and the administrators are the ones who are supposed to carry out those policies. So you still have the different things that you can never say . . . that the principal is not in charge of the building.

Nevertheless, it became apparent in Hammond that "business as usual" in both the accountability and the practice of principaling was not to be. Each of the process-produced changes that occurred carried important principal-evaluation overtones. First, it was well recognized early on by administrators and staff members throughout the district that little in principals' managerial training is consonant with shared and, indeed, "consensus" decision making. As one Hammond principal phrased it:

We aren't trained at the university level for this. We're trained to go in and manage, to do it. The education at the university level is that of educational leader/building manager and it has nothing to do with working and giving off the authority or whatever else.

Second, the sense of a training-gap spoke to a larger-sensed role change—a role change wherein the principal no less than before is accountable for "what happens" in the school but must now find a way to blend that accountability into a more "hands-off" managerial style. This is especially difficult, as one informant noted, when so much of the union history of the schools harks back to the wariness that stems from adversarial relationships.

Third, the combination of role change amid a continued "you're-responsible-for-what-happens-here" accountability finds principals far more constrained by time. Many a principal complained: "I'm too spread out." "The job is much more time consuming." It takes time to share decision making, to reach consensus. Thus, the principal's time must be shared more widely; not shared, however, is the principal's sense of accountability. This issue is highlighted in the comment of one principal who talked with pride of his learned role-change toward that of a "facilitator," while discovering nevertheless that teachers still expected him to take charge: "I remember when one teacher came to me and said,

'Sam, you should do something about that.' And I said, 'Susan, you forgot, it's not you-it's we. You're back to saying 'you' again.'"

Fourth, on another significant dimension, changes are appearing in relationships between the schools and the central office, relationships that are all-important to principals. As one informant summarized:

I really don't think that we have a clear understanding of what is now the role of the principal and what's the role of the central office. If it's been articulated it hasn't been bought. We had hoped that would become facilitative, supportive, and many individuals are. I'm not saying that. But because of their job description and what they're accountable for doing, it's not necessarily following what they believe they should be doing.

Other informants talked more darkly about the rearrangement of power within the district, about some "back stabbing" as shifts in within-district reputations and leadership positionings occur, and, as the following quote indicates, about "strange" new collaborations that implicitly carry mysterious messages vis-à-vis principal evaluation:

A drawback to me is that some of the principals really perceive a loss of power. Really the power is being redistributed, it has not changed that much at all. I just see that some people are just really reluctant to change. It all gets back to that. They see the union president and the superintendent being collaborative and getting along.

In summary, Hammond's reform of school-site decision making gave little pre-implementation attention to restructuring's impact upon principal assessment. Worried principals pressed for, and received, "veto power" over the bottom-up process. However, they were apparently (with that power) willing to continue to live with that veto power under a system of evaluation that places school-site accountability squarely upon the principal and that continues to look to the principal as "a strong central figure of authority."

Despite this maintenance of "old" accountability structures, however, there is evidence of evaluation-related effects induced by the process of reform. Principals are bearing the burden of accountability and of expectations for leadership while acknowledging they've had "no training for this." They are struggling with some "role change" incompatibilities between top-down accountability and "hands-off" management. They are feeling more constrained by time in their worklives—a special worry when accountability remains undivided. And, they are no longer quite certain about just how roles, relationships, and "powers" are to be

distributed between the schools and that important-to-evaluation place—the central office.

### Conclusion

Under the most predictable or least uncertain of conditions, building principals know full well that there is nevertheless a good dosage of mystery, politics, and hard-to-fathom "judgment" in the annual superintendent/board assessment of their performance. They do know, however, that in most instances the judgments will be heavily affected by such traditional duties and activities of principaling as evaluating teachers, maintaining school discipline and control, producing evidence (e.g., test scores) of pupil learning, keeping parents and the community well satisfied (even better, quiescent), keeping up with the paperwork, staying within budget, and avoiding too many staff grievances.

It is interesting that in our two exemplary cases of a bottom-up restructuring of decision making, the impact of reform upon administrator evaluation was not an early-on consideration. In both cases, however, the implementation of reform found school districts wrestling with some critical, evaluation-related changes in the duties, powers, perspectives, and administrative styles of principals—finding therein the need for a "processed-produced" adaptation of evaluation to a reform reality. The press toward adaptation was particularly apparent when principals became "caught-up" in some activities that carried an evaluative flavor from the past, such as non-tenured teacher evaluation, budget and resource control, buffering teachers from "outside" pressures, or "taking charge" administratively in the school.

Now, more implicitly than explicitly, the new expectations seemed to be that principal assessments will hinge upon making shared decision making work in the school, training the school staff in how-to-do-it, getting the results of the decision-making process accepted by all, and learning to be effectively "accountable" while simultaneously losing managerial control. In brief summary, the two cases provided common indications from principals that (a) they felt "under scrutiny" to help make reform a reality; (b) they were, however, uncomfortable with added accountability amid reduced control, particularly under a new system that asks the principal to be accountable for the council's decisions; (c) they felt some loss of "position identity," with some as-yet-unstated changes in the standards surrounding their "old" duties (e.g., teacher evaluation); and (d) they sensed a broad expansion in the numbers of "stakeholders" who may now play a yet-to-be-defined role in principal evaluation (e.g., from parent members of committees, to

teacher committees at the district level, to faculty-parent committees at the school level). Each of these conditions remains a yet-to-be-fully-resolved issue in administrator evaluation in both exemplary cases.

Finally, in two concluding observations, thus far from these still-in-transition cases, it might be argued *first* that restructured, school-site decision making may call for a serious reconceptualization of the person-in-charge, or "the buck-stops-here" approach to principal evaluation, which has long been the administrative tradition in education. It can be claimed that with shared decision making comes shared accountability. Thus an assessment of the school principal must also, at least in part, be a wider assessment of the "community" of players in decision-making and decision-implementation processes. *Second*, a traditionally "near-closed" process of principal evaluation (usually lodged rather narrowly in the "mysterious" hands of superintendents and their governing boards) might find it necessary under restructuring to consider a carefully planned "opening-up" of evaluative structures towards the much broader formal representation of the "stakeholders" who now impact informally under reform upon principals' work lives. As one of the Glenview principals put it, "It isn't the same 'they' anymore," when "they" clearly meant, to one and all, the district's central administration.

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# Using the Appraisal of School Leaders as an Instrument for School Restructuring

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Performance appraisal is one of a number of "standard operating procedures" (SOPs) used by virtually all mature organizations. SOPs help ensure that tasks fundamental to the organization's functioning are carried out reliably, often in the face of changing personnel. They do this by supporting and reinforcing behaviors considered useful in accomplishing the goals of the organization. Changes in an organization's goals and the development of better means for accomplishing such goals (i.e., "first-order" changes), however, create the need for changes in standard operating procedures (i.e., "second-order" changes). Failure to see the need for and to make these second-order changes seriously jeopardizes the implementation and institutionalization of first-order changes (Cuban, 1988; Seeley, 1992). Explicit directions for practice

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voiced by advocates of first-order change can be muted or appear in contradiction to the implicit directions embedded in practices reinforced by unchanged standard operating procedures.

The incoherence created in school systems by the misalignment of educational innovations and standard operating procedures explains much of what Sarason (1990) refers to as the predictable failure of educational reform. As a classroom-based illustration, McCaslin and Good (1992) explain:

To the extent that progressive school districts have responded to articulate calls for curriculum reform . . . , educators have created an oxymoron: a curriculum that urges problem solving and critical thinking and a [classroom] management system that requires compliance and narrow obedience. The management system at least dilutes, if not obstructs, the potential power of the curriculum for many of our students. (p. 12)

In this article, we argue that current school restructuring initiatives also are threatened by lack of careful attention to essential second-order changes, among them changes in principal and assistant/vice principal appraisal procedures. The images, as well as the specific behaviors, reinforced by existing appraisal systems are inconsistent with forms of leadership helpful in restructuring and restructured schools. Many such appraisal systems reinforce nonleadership, largely managerial images of these roles; at best some existing systems attempt to reflect an image of instructional leadership, an image with "multiple and ambiguous meanings . . . [which has] . . . all but defied consistent, explicit definition" (Smylie & Brownlee-Conyers, 1992, p. 154). More consistent with the needs of restructuring and restructured schools, as we have begun to argue elsewhere (Leithwood, 1992), is an image of school leadership as "transformational."

The remainder of the article further develops this argument in three stages. First, we consider the meaning of school restructuring and what that seems to imply for change strategies likely to foster such restructuring. Second, we explore the concept of transformational leadership and why we believe it embodies an approach to change appropriate for school restructuring efforts. And third, we describe a study designed to test empirically our claim that transformational leadership fosters school restructuring. Eight guidelines for the design of school leader appraisal systems are provided in the final section of the article.

## School Restructuring

### *An Overview of Purposes and Processes*

In their recent book, *Tangled Hierarchies*, Shedd and Bacharach (1991) argue that expectations for schools emerging within the foreseeable future demand a different order of response than has been required to most previous reform initiatives. One category of past reform initiatives has stressed, for example, higher levels of basic skill achievement, increased use of direct instruction, minimum standards to be met by all students, widespread testing of outcomes and increased supervision of instruction. Practices associated with reforms of this sort can be relatively clearly specified and lend themselves to being implemented through exercising greater direct control over school activity. Rowan (1990) also identifies "control strategies" as effective in implementing policies about which there is adequate knowledge by implementors.

A second category of reform initiatives, those typically encompassed by the term restructuring, has had quite different emphases: development of higher order thinking, cooperative learning among students, flexible and varied instruction by teachers, celebration of individual differences among students, and greater autonomy for teachers. Practices associated with these reforms often cannot be well specified in advance: As a consequence, they have usually been implemented by providing greater autonomy to teachers in the hope that they will work out appropriate ways to accomplish the purposes for such reform.

Shedd and Bacharach (1991) contend that the typical bureaucratic structure of many current schools and school systems is a product of the compromises that have been necessary to respond to these competing pressures for autonomy and control. And that, they claim, is the fundamental problem. Expectations for schools now emerging require:

. . . more discretion *and* more control, more flexibility *and* more direction, more room for professional development *and* more ways of ensuring accountability. Systems that produce compromises between these competing sets of needs are no longer sufficient, but neither are strategies that explicitly subordinate one set of needs to the other. (p. 5)

What sort of restructuring of schools is necessary simultaneously to meet demands for greater discretion and greater coordination between programs and among staff members? According to Shedd and Bacharach (1991), "a new definition of roles will have to be negotiated" (p. 192). Sarason's (1990) answer is similar. In his view, schools need to

distribute power away from a primary emphasis on top-down or positional forms of power to more consensual and expertise-based forms of power. A flatter social structure in the school has the potential to allow for discretion, as well as unleashing the problem-solving capacities of staff. At the same time, a different kind (rather than the absence) of coordination and direction becomes possible, one that springs from an authentic understanding by staff of school purposes and a high level of commitment to achieving those purposes. A strong culture, one in which there is widespread agreement about those norms, beliefs, and values guiding efforts to achieve the school's purposes, is central to such coordination. Processes for accomplishing restructuring purposes, as we describe them here, are referred to by Rowan (1990) as "commitment strategies."

### *A Model to Explain School Restructuring Processes*

School restructuring goals are ambitious and far-reaching, but knowledge of how they are to be accomplished is thin. Under such circumstances, conditions and strategies capable of engaging school people in persistent efforts to expand that knowledge and to act on it are what is needed. The possible nature of these conditions and strategies—what a "commitment strategy" might look like in some detail—initially became clearer to us in the context of research we were carrying out in British Columbia. The government in that Canadian province has developed a vision for its educational system through this decade (British Columbia Ministry of Education, *Year 2000*, 1989) as well as policies to help guide carefully staged efforts by schools to move toward that vision. Special funding for "lead" schools, resource documents, Ministry consultation, and staff development opportunities are among the forms of support provided to schools. Reforms envisioned by the *Year 2000* spring from a constructivist view of learning—learning as a process of actively constructing personal meaning through both individual and social processes (British Columbia Ministry, *Primary Program Foundation Document*, 1990). Given such a view, a bundle of changes have been proposed, for example, in the schools' curricula, the nature of instruction, the organization of schools, their physical characteristics, and relationships between the school and the community. *Year 2000*, in short, has many of the attributes typically associated with the purposes for restructuring (see Murphy, 1991, for a comprehensive review).

During the 1989-1990 school year, we began to inquire about the conditions and strategies being used in 12 lead schools to implement the first stage of the *Year 2000*, the Primary Program: This is a policy govern-

ing the education of children in their first 4 years of school. While interested in change processes broadly, we also had a particular interest in leadership for change at the school level. One outcome of our 1989-1990 research was a model of conditions and processes, associated with restructuring progress, grounded in data from the 12 lead schools included in the research. Described more extensively elsewhere (Leithwood, Jantzi, & Dart, *in press*), the model exemplifies, in detail, our meaning of a commitment strategy. As well, it reflects central themes in recent policy implementation (e.g., David, 1990) and school improvement literatures (e.g., Louis & Miles, 1990; Rosenholtz, 1989). The model was used to select and define the constructs and variables which framed the study reported later in this article.

Four constructs and the relationships among them are included in the model: Out-of-School Conditions and Processes, In-School Conditions and Processes, School Leadership, and Teacher Perceived Outcomes. Out-of-School Conditions and Processes are hypothesized to have direct effects on all other constructs. In-School Conditions and Processes are hypothesized to have a direct effect on Teacher Perceived Outcomes. The effects of School Leadership on Teacher Perceived Outcomes are mediated by In-School Conditions and Processes. Definitions of these constructs (except School Leadership, which will be treated separately) are as follows:

#### *Out-of-School Conditions and Processes*

- Ministry: the extent to which school staffs value the initiatives of Ministry personnel to explain the policy and its curriculum resources, money, personnel and other resources provided by the Ministry.
- District: the degree to which staffs perceive as helpful the leadership provided by district personnel and professional associations, district staff development opportunities, resources provided by the district, and district policy initiatives in support of Ministry policy.
- School Community: the extent of support or opposition from parents and the wider community for the policy as perceived by staffs; use of community resources; extent of parent involvement in the school.

#### *In-School Conditions and Processes*

- Goals: the extent to which staff perceive that the goals of the policy are clear and are compatible with their own goals and the goals of the school.

- Teachers: the extent to which teachers are committed to their own professional development, believe the policy is compatible with their own views, and feel committed and motivated to implement the policy.
- School Culture: the degree to which staff within the school perceive themselves to be collaborating in their efforts to implement the policy.
- School Programs and Instruction: the extent to which the policy is perceived to be compatible with teachers' views of appropriate programs and instruction and the priority given by teachers to policy implementation.
- School Policy, Organization, and Resources: the extent to which staff perceive school policies, materials, finances, and teacher release time to support policy implementation.

#### *Teacher-Perceived Outcomes*

- Teachers' perceptions of the nature of changes, due to policy implementation, which occurred with respect to school goals, culture, teachers, programs and instruction, policies and organization, and students; student outcomes are limited to those Intellectual, Social/Emotional, and Artistic/Aesthetic goals identified in policy.

The definition of most variables indicates the form that teacher commitment may take or those conditions giving rise to such commitment—such as favorable funding conditions; a sense of clarity about the task; and compatibility of personal, school, and policy goals. The next section provides a more precise explanation of how commitment develops, and, in particular, what forms of leadership behavior are likely to influence it.

#### **Building Commitment Through Transformational Leadership**

##### *The Origin and Meaning of Transformational Leadership*

The meanings associated with leadership cover an awesome range of phenomena. Yukl's synopsis of what most of these definitions have in common is sufficient for our purposes: "Leadership is defined broadly to include influence processes involving determination of the group's or organization's objectives, motivating task behavior in pursuit of these objectives and influencing group maintenance and culture" (1989, p. 5).

Given such a starting point, our 1989-1990 research provided evidence about forms of leadership which were perceived to be most helpful to teachers engaged in restructuring, within the larger context of a

commitment-building strategy. This leadership was often distributed among a number of staff members within the school, taking forms similar to those described by Smylie and Brownlee-Conyers (1992). Nevertheless, leadership from the principal and/or vice principal continued to be very important. In particular, leadership practices perceived by teachers to be "supportive" of their change efforts were highly related to progress with implementation; practices perceived to create pressure were not.

We described variations within the most helpful patterns of leadership provided by principals as "direct" and "indirect" instructional leadership (Leithwood et al., *in press*) in our 1989-1990 study. But these terms did not—to our satisfaction—do justice to the range of initiatives and effects of these school leaders. Nor were we certain that we had adequately captured all that these leaders were doing of consequence in their schools. This led us to explore transformational leadership concepts. Such leadership is described by Roberts as follows:

This type of leadership offers a vision of what could be and gives a sense of purpose and meaning to those who would share that vision. It builds commitment, enthusiasm, and excitement. It creates a hope in the future and a belief that the world is knowable, understandable, and manageable. The collective action that transforming leadership generates, empowers those who participate in the process. There is hope, there is optimism, there is energy. In essence, transforming leadership is a leadership that facilitates the redefinition of a people's mission and vision, a renewal of their commitment, and the restructuring of their systems for goal accomplishment. (1985, p. 1024)

Hunt (1991) traces the origins of transformational leadership, in particular the idea of charisma, to the early work of the well-known sociologist Max Weber. But transformational forms of leadership are part of a leadership theory proposed in a mature form first by Bass and his associates (e.g., Bass, 1987; Bass & Avolio, 1989; Bass, Waldman, Avolio, & Webb, 1987) as well as others in noneducational contexts (e.g., Podsakoff, Mackenzie, Moorman, & Fetter, 1990; Podsakoff, Todor, Grover, & Huber, 1984). While systematic attempts to explore the meaning and utility of such theory in educational organizations have only recently begun (e.g., Leithwood 1992; Leithwood & Jantzi, 1990; Sergiovanni, 1990), results led us to expect that transformational leadership practices would help explain significant variation in progress with school restructuring. That is, transformational leadership practices were likely to enhance teachers' commitment to school restructuring.

Linked closely to the idea of transformational leadership is the idea of

transactional leadership. Transactional forms of leadership are premised on exchange theory; that is, various kinds of rewards from the organization are exchanged for the services of the teacher who is seen to be acting at least partly out of self-interest. Transactional leadership practices help teachers recognize what needs to be done in order to reach a desired outcome. According to theory, this increases teachers' confidence and enhances motivation as well.

### *Transformational Leadership for School Restructuring*

The corpus of theory and research travelling under the transformational leadership banner is by no means unified. It offers alternative prescriptions for leader behavior, alternative predictions about the effects of such practices on "followers," and alternative explanations of how these leader behaviors and effects are mediated (see Shamir, 1991). The conception of transformational leadership we believe most suitable for school restructuring has its theoretical genesis in Bandura's (1977, 1986) social cognitive theory and Shamir's (1991) self-concept based explanation of charisma. According to this view, transformational leaders increase their staffs' commitment by "recruiting" their self-concept, by increasing the salience of certain identities and values, and by linking behaviors and goals to those identities and values and to an organizational vision or mission that reflects them. These transformational leadership effects can be explained as a product of enhanced staff motivation and perceptions of self-efficacy.

*Motivation.* Bandura (1977, 1986) explains the cognitive roots of motivation in terms of a person's internalized goals; such goals are cognitive representations of desirable future states or consequences: "When individuals commit themselves to explicit goals, perceived negative discrepancies between what they do and what they seek to achieve create self-dissatisfactions that serve as incentives for enhanced effort" (1986, p. 469).

However, the motivational effects do not arise from the person's goals themselves (Bandura, 1977, 1986). Rather, a person is motivated by:

- self-evaluation of the discrepancy between the goal and present accomplishment.
- goal specificity: more specific goals provide greater regulation of action by clarifying the type and amount of effort required and by facilitating self-evaluation.
- level of aspiration: unrealistically high goals produce judgments of repeated failure to accomplish them, thereby weakening one's will-

ingness to persist; but the level of aspiration must be sufficiently high to be perceived as challenging.

- goal proximity: immediate goals perceived as instrumental to the achievement of long-term goals mobilize effort and direct one's attention to present action.

Bandura's explanation provides a point of departure for Shamir's (1990) efforts to describe how the intrinsic value of internalized goals and their accomplishments can be further increased by leaders. This occurs when people are stimulated to consider the more fundamental values which their goals represent. Actions to accomplish goals understood in this way take on greater perceived importance: They may become the kind of ideological mission on which a group's identity is based. Goals also take on greater meaning when they are shown to be consistent with the school's collective past and future. This creates a sense of connectedness central to feelings of self-consistency.

In sum, when personal goals become shared with others and are believed to reflect deeply held values, an unconditional, moral commitment to their accomplishment by the group and its individual members is engendered.

Two dimensions of behavior normally associated with transformational leadership (Podsakoff et al., 1990) are justified by these considerations of the roots of motivation:

- Identifying and Articulating a Vision: Behavior on the part of the leader aimed at identifying new opportunities for his or her school; and developing, articulating and inspiring others with his or her vision of the future (when visions are value laden, they will lead to unconditional commitment; they also provide compelling purposes for continual professional growth).
- Fostering the Acceptance of Group Goals: Behavior on the part of the leader aimed at promoting cooperation among staff and assisting them to work together toward common goals (especially group goals that are ideological in nature foster group identity).

*Perceived self-efficacy.* Bandura's (1986) explanation of perceived self-efficacy in mediating the relationship between thought and action is helpful in beginning to justify the remaining dimensions of transformational leadership. Perceived self-efficacy is a person's judgement of their abilities as distinct from their *actual abilities* to organize and execute courses of action required to achieve their goals. Evidence reviewed by Bandura suggests that:

People who see themselves as efficacious set themselves challenges that enlist their interest and involvement in activities; they intensify

their efforts when their performances fall short of their goals, make causal ascriptions for failures that support a success orientation, approach potentially threatening tasks nonanxiously, and experience little in the way of stress reactions in taxing situations. Such self-assured endeavor produces accomplishments. (1986, p. 395)

Perceived self-efficacy increases the intrinsic value of effort and contributes to the possibilities for a sense of collective efficacy on the part of a group, as well.

Increased perceptions of self-efficacy may result from people processing information from three sources. The most influential source is their actual performance: specifically, perceptions of success. Success raises one's appraisal of one's efficacy, although such appraisals are shaped by task difficulty, effort expended, amount of help received, and other circumstances. Vicarious experience is a second source, often provided by role models. However, to have a positive effect on self-efficacy, models who are similar to or only slightly higher in ability provide the most informative, comparative information for judging one's own abilities. Further, observers benefit most from seeing models "overcome their difficulties by determined effort rather than from observing facile performances by adept models" (Bandura, 1986, p. 404). Finally, verbal persuasion—the expressed opinions of others about one's abilities—may enhance perceived self-efficacy. But for this effect to occur, persuaders must be viewed as relatively expert in the role or relevant activity or at least credible judges of such expertise. Such persuasion will often take the form of evaluative feedback.

Self-efficacy theory helps justify four additional dimensions of behavior associated with transformational leadership (Podsakoff et al., 1990):

- Providing an Appropriate Model: Behavior on the part of the leader that sets an example for staff to follow that is consistent with the values the leader espouses.
- High Performance Expectations: Behavior that demonstrates the leader's expectations for excellence, quality, and/or high performance on the part of staff (verbal persuasion).
- Providing Individualized Support: Behavior on the part of the leader that indicates respect for staff and concern about their personal feelings and needs (verbal persuasion).
- Intellectual Stimulation: Behavior on the part of the leader that challenges staff to reexamine some of the assumptions about their work and rethink how it can be performed (a type of feedback associated with verbal persuasion).

Self-efficacy theory also justifies a dimension of behavior usually classified as transactional:

- Contingent Reward: The school leader tells staff what to do in order to be rewarded for their efforts.

It is the possibility of providing informative feedback about performance in order to enhance self-efficacy that makes this behavior potentially transforming. Furthermore, some studies have found contingent reward to be as strongly associated with enhanced commitment, effort, and job satisfaction as other dimensions of transformational leadership (Singer, 1985; Spangler & Braiotta, 1990).

A final dimension of leadership, always considered transactional, is:

- Management-By-Exception: The school leader intervenes with staff only if standards are not being met.

There is no reason, in light of the theory described here, to believe such behaviors would enhance commitment, effort, or any other outcome usually associated with transformational leadership. Many studies report negative associations of at least passive forms of such behavior and desirable individual or organizational outcomes (e.g., Avolio, Waldman, & Einstein, 1988; Darling, 1990).

The study reported in the next section examined relationships between the eight dimensions of transactional and transformational leadership, Out-of-School Conditions and Processes, In-School Conditions and Processes, and Teacher-Perceived Outcomes. More specifically, we asked:

- How strong is the association between school restructuring processes and outcomes and the practices of school leadership?
- What is the relative strength of associations between educational restructuring and transformational and transactional forms of school leadership?
- Which specific dimensions of transformational and transactional forms of leadership are most strongly related to school restructuring processes and outcomes?

### **Transformational Leadership and School Restructuring: An Empirical Test**

A 162-item survey was developed and used to collect information from teachers and principals in order to answer the three questions posed above as well as others not relevant to this article. Constructs and variables from our model of school restructuring and the dimensions of leadership described in the previous section gave rise to questions asked by the survey. This section describes relevant aspects of our method and results (a complete report of our research is available in Leithwood, Dart, Jantzi, & Steinbach, 1991).

All public schools offering a program for primary students listed in the B.C. Ministry of Education document, *Public and Independent Schools Book: A Complete Listing of Schools and Principals as of September 28, 1990*, constituted the population for this survey. One third of the schools within this population were sampled using a stratified sampling procedure. First, districts within the province were divided into three categories based on student enrollment, as follows:

Small districts:	less than 3,000 students
Medium-sized districts:	3,000 to 10,000 students
Large districts:	more than 10,000 students

Second, districts were selected randomly within each category to approximate the proportion each category represented in the total population of provincial districts. All schools with primary programs in the selected districts were included in the sample. An estimate of the number of primary teachers within the school was calculated based on student enrollment data; each school was given enough copies of the survey for these teachers and the principal in each school.

Table 1 summarizes the population, the selected, and the achieved sample by strata. A total of 770 individuals responded to the 2,547 questionnaires sent to the schools; the individual response rate was 30% and the school rate was 67%. The low response rate for teachers was at least partially due to considerable political instability in the province at the time of the survey as well as related teacher job-action in many districts. The school was used as the unit for data analysis.

All data reported subsequently were from teachers, the most appropriate data in light of how the school restructuring and leadership variables have been defined. For example, direct assessments of teachers' perceptions is critical, with respect to leadership, since teacher commitment is mediated by their own perception of self-efficacy and goals. Student outcomes were measured through teacher perception. Some will argue that at least these outcomes ought to be measured using independent objective tests. Our response to this argument is twofold. First, when researchers rely on independent, "objective" tests of student outcomes, practical constraints usually limit the operational definition of such outcomes to those basic math and language skills assessed by existing standardized test data. This artificially narrow definition of student outcomes has received extensive criticism because it so poorly reflects the goals of many schools and certainly most educational restructuring initiatives (Ousten & Maughan, 1985; Reynolds & Reid, 1985; Wilson & Corcoran, 1988). Second, although the educational community often assumes significant inaccuracy in teachers' judgments about student learning, there is no empirical warrant for such an assumption. On the contrary, as Egan and Archer note:

Table 1

Summary of Survey Population, Sample, and Respondents by Sample Strata

Strata	Population		Sample		Respondents	
	Districts	Schools	Districts	Schools	Districts	Schools
Small	44	269	14	96	13	65
Medium	23	501	7	154	7	99
Large	8	400	4	156	4	108
Total	75	1170	25	406	24	272

Since the 1920's, there have been dozens of studies reporting correlations in the order of .5 and .6 between teacher ratings and various standardized tests. These correlations may be considered as coefficients of concurrent validity, and as such they are quite large. (1985, p. 26)

Following data entry and cleaning, a new aggregated file was created with data in the form of school means for all the variables. The reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of all scales measuring all variables in our model was calculated on all the constructs. SPSS-X was used to aggregate data to the school level and to calculate means, standard deviations, percentages, and path coefficients. To calculate scale scores at the school level, item means were calculated for valid responses to items. Subsequently, item means were summed. By this process, maximum use was made of all available information and complete data sets were available at the school level for all independent variables.

Three types of analyses carried out helped to answer questions raised in this article. The simplest analysis was the calculation of Pearson-product correlations to estimate the strength of relationships between dimensions of leadership and teacher perceived outcomes. Canonical correlation analysis and hierarchical multiple regression analysis also were used for this purpose as well as to estimate other relationships.

Canonical correlation analysis was used to examine the relationships between teacher perceived outcomes and in-school conditions and processes, out-of-school conditions and processes, and leadership variables. Canonical correlation analysis also was used to explore the relationship between in-school conditions and processes as the set of criterion variables and leadership variables as the predictor set. Canonical correlation allows recombinations of the variables of both sets to achieve a maximally correlated linear combination of dependent variables with a linear combination of independent variables. The first pair of linear combinations yields the highest canonical correlation possible in a given set of data. The second canonical correlation is then based on

linear combinations of dependent and independent variables that are not correlated with the first pair and that yield the second largest canonical correlation possible in the data (Thompson, 1984). The SAS CANCORR program was used to perform these analyses.

Hierarchical multiple regression was used to examine the effects of particular sets of variables (leadership, in-school processes, out-of-school processes) on each of the organizational and student outcomes after statistically controlling for the effects of other variables. In hierarchical multiple regression, independent variables or blocks of variables enter the equation in an order specified by the researcher and determined by logic or theory. Each independent variable or block of variables is assessed in terms of what it adds to the equation at its own point of entry. The proportion of variance accounted for by all the independent variables is partitioned incrementally by noting the increment in the proportion of variance associated with the variable or block of variables at its point of entry into the regression model (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989). The SPSS-X REGRESSION program was used for these analyses.

### *Results*

After describing the internal consistency of measures, each of the three research questions are addressed, often using summaries of findings. Tabular displays of data are limited to key relationships only.

#### *Internal Consistency of Scales*

Table 2 describes the internal consistency (Alpha Coefficients) of the scales with schools as the unit of analysis. As a rule of thumb, scale reliabilities above .80 are considered very acceptable; reliabilities above .60 are usually considered adequate. Six of the eight leadership dimensions had scale reliabilities above .80. The remaining two dimensions were .71 or higher.

#### *Relationship Between School Restructuring and School Leadership*

Many claims are made about the positive contribution of school leadership to school effectiveness and school improvement. Some of these claims appeal for their warrant to "common sense" professional experience; a large proportion rely on school effectiveness studies in which leadership is often identified as one of a small number of correlates of effective schools (e.g., Bamberg & Andrews, 1991). Yet other claims are grounded primarily in studies of school improvement efforts (Fullan,

**Table 2**  
**Internal Consistency of Questionnaire Scales**

Construct	Variable	# of Items	Cronbach's Alpha
<i>Transformational Leadership</i>	○ Provides Vision	6	.903
	○ Models Behavior	4	.857
	○ Fosters Group Goals	4	.756
	○ Provides Support	6	.842
	○ Provides Intellectual Stimulation	5	.832
	○ Holds High Performance Expectations	3	.711
<i>Transactional Leadership</i>	○ Contingent Reward	6	.849
	○ Management-by-Exception	5	.808
<i>In-School Conditions &amp; Processes</i>	○ School Goals	5	.717
	○ School Culture	12	.862
	○ Teachers	6	.815
	○ Program & Instruction	5	.801
	○ School Policies & Organization	10	.777
<i>Out-of-School Conditions &amp; Processes</i>	○ Ministry	3	.478
	○ District	5	.692
	○ School Community	6	.776
<i>Teacher Perceived Outcomes</i>	○ School Goals	3	.788
	○ Culture	3	.680
	○ Teachers	7	.851
	○ Policy & Organization	2	.415
	○ Program & Instruction	3	.746
	○ Students	10	.899

1991; Leithwood & Montgomery, 1982). In fact, the empirical literature directly examining school leader effects is quite small (see Leithwood, Begley, & Cousins, 1990, for a recent review) and has produced mixed results. Heck and his colleagues (Heck, Larsen, & Marcoulides, 1990; Heck, Marcoulides, & Lang, 1991), for example, have recently reported positive relationships between measures of instructional leadership and student outcomes. Others, however (Van de Grift, 1990; Vanderstoep, Anderman, & Midgley, 1991), have been unable to find such relationships. For this reason, the first question asked of our data was about the relative contribution to school restructuring of leadership as compared with out-of-school and in-school conditions and processes.

Results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis suggested that when the effects of leadership and in-school conditions and processes were held constant, out-of-school processes and conditions had a significant influence (beyond .05) on all teacher perceived outcomes except

changes in policy and organization. When the effects of out-of-school conditions and processes were accounted for, in-school conditions and processes had a significant impact on all teacher perceived outcomes (beyond .001). Holding the effects of leadership and out-of-school conditions and processes statistically constant, the addition of in-school conditions and processes significantly increased the variance explained for each of the teacher perceived outcomes.

In-school conditions and processes were the best predictors of all outcomes (a result found also with the canonical correlation analysis). Out-of-school conditions and processes had the next strongest effect. Leadership processes contributed least as direct predictors of outcomes. Nevertheless, leadership processes had a significant direct effect (with in-school conditions and processes held constant) on changes in teachers, programs and instruction, and student outcomes. Leadership had strong direct effects on in-school conditions and processes. Table 3 re-

Table 3  
*Canonical Correlation Between Leadership Variables and (A) Outcomes and (B) In-School Processes*

*A. Outcomes*

Variables	First Canonical Variate	Second Canonical Variate	
Predictor Set-Leadership	Correlation	Correlation	Total
vision	.79	.44	
model	.59	.45	
group goals	.83	.44	
individual support	.46	.73	
high expectation	.56	.13	
intellectual stimulation	.64	.55	
manage by exception	-.62	.01	
contingent reward	.39	.74	
Percent of Variance	.39	.25	.64
Redundancy	.10	.03	.13
Criterion set - Teacher			
Perceived Outcomes			
goals	.72	.53	
culture	-.04	.28	
teachers	.19	.91	
students	.22	.59	
policy	.62	.33	
program	.15	.78	
Percent of Variance	.17	.37	.54
Redundancy	.04	.05	.09
Canonical R	.50	.36	
Probability	.000	.003	

Table 3 continued

## B. In-School Processes

Variables		First Canonical Variate	Second Canonical Variate	
Predictor	Set-Leadership	Correlation	Correlation	Total
vision		.96	.98	
model		.84	.12	
group goals		.92	-.18	
individual support		.84	.28	
high expectation		.48	-.16	
intellectual stimulation		.87	.27	
manage by exception		-.71	.35	
contingent reward		.76	.08	
Percent of Variance		.65	.05	.70
Redundancy		.37	.01	.38
Criterion set - in-school conditions and processes				
school goals		.92	-.18	
school culture		.85	-.22	
teachers		.70	-.14	
program		.54	-.46	
policies & organization		.71	.64	
Percent of Variance		.57	.15	.72
Redundancy		.32	.02	.34
Canonical R		.76	.38	
Probability		.000	.001	

ports results of canonical correlation analysis between all leadership variables and (a) outcomes and (b) in-school processes. These data are consistent with the general results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis.

These results remind us that school restructuring proceeds in response to a complex set of variables inside and outside the school. It would be a mistake to put all of one's eggs in the leadership basket. Nevertheless, the direct and indirect contributions of leadership to school restructuring are significant. Efforts to use leadership appraisal as an instrument for restructuring are supported by this evidence.

#### *Relationships Between School Restructuring and Transformational as Compared With Transactional Leadership*

Transformational leadership theory hypothesizes that transformational leadership is value-added in its effects. Transactional leadership (essentially managerial in nature) maintains the organization but is incapable of generating significant change; adding on transformational practices gives rise to such change (Avolio & Bass, 1987; Sergiovanni,

1990). The present study provides partial evidence relevant to this view: that is, transformational practices were more strongly related to school restructuring outcomes and processes than were transactional practices. For example, Pearson-product correlations between the combined dimensions of transformational leadership and the combined categories of outcomes was .32 (range = .22 to .35). The comparable correlation for transactional leadership was .18 (range = .08 to .20).

Table 4 reports results of canonical correlation analysis of (a) transformational and (b) transactional leadership and teacher perceived outcomes. The most significant feature of these data is the negative relationships evident between transactional leadership and most outcomes. Table 5 provides comparable data, but, in this case, concerned with in-school conditions and processes.

**Table 4**  
*Canonical Correlation Between (A) Transformational and (B) Transactional Leadership Variables*

*A. Transformational Leadership*

Variables	First Canonical Variate	Second Canonical Variate	
<i>Predictor Set-</i> <i>transformational leadership</i>	<i>Correlation</i>	<i>Correlation</i>	<i>Total</i>
vision	.85	.29	
model	.65	.35	
group goals	.88	.34	
individual support	.54	.70	
high expectation	.58	-.10	
intellectual stimulation	.70	.58	
Percent of Variance	.51	.19	.70
Redundancy	.12	.02	.14
<i>Criterion set - teacher perceived outcomes</i>			
goals	.79	.55	
culture	.01	-.05	
teachers	.31	.81	
students	.29	.68	
policy	.66	.16	
program	.25	.92	
Percent of Variance	.51	.19	.70
Redundancy	.12	.02	.14
Canonical R	.49	.31	
Probability	.000	.040	

Table 4 continued

*B. Transactional Leadership*

Variables	First Canonical Variate	Second Canonical Variate	
Predictor Set- transactional leadership	Correlation	Correlation	Total
manage by exception	.99	-.04	
contingent reward	-.51	.86	
Percent of Variance	.63	.37	1.00
Redundancy	.08	.03	.11
Criterion set - teacher perceived outcomes			
goals	-.78	.59	
culture	.34	.31	
teachers	-.14	.90	
students	-.32	.53	
policy	-.39	.39	
program	-.33	.70	
Percent of Variance	.19	.36	.55
Redundancy	.02	.06	.08
Canonical R	.37	.31	
Probability	.000	.000	

*Specific Dimensions of Leadership Most Strongly Associated With  
School Restructuring*

Many studies have found little support for the contribution of the dimension of transactional leadership called management-by-exception (e.g., Kshensky, 1990; Tucker, 1990). Contingent reward, in contrast, has sometimes demonstrated as strong and positive an association with outcomes as several of the dimensions of transformational leadership. Our data partly confirm these results. Management-by-exception was related negatively (Pearson-product correlations) to all outcomes: The overall correlation was  $-.13$ . In contrast, contingent reward had an overall correlation of  $.26$  with outcomes, exceeding the strength of relationship demonstrated by one transformational leadership dimension (high expectations,  $.11$ ) and closely approximating the strength of relationship demonstrated by two others (Modelling =  $.27$ ; Group Goals =  $.29$ ). Tables 3, 4, and 5 also report negative relationships between management-by-exception and both in-school conditions and processes and teacher-perceived outcomes.

With respect to transformational leadership, the canonical correlation analysis reported in Tables 4 and 5 indicate that vision and group goals are the dimensions most strongly related to both in-school conditions

Table 5

*Canonical Correlation Between (A) Transformational and (B) Transactional Leadership Variables and In-school Process Variables*

*A. Transformational Leadership*

Variables	First Canonical Variate	Second Canonical Variate	
Predictor Set- transformational leadership	Correlation	Correlation	Total
vision	.96	.09	
model	.84	.13	
group goals	.92	-.27	
individual support	.85	.33	
high expectation	.48	-.33	
intellectual stimulation	.87	.22	
Percent of Variance	.70	.06	.76
Redundancy	.40	.01	.41
Criterion set - in-school conditions and processes			
school goals	.91	-.18	
school culture	.85	-.24	
teachers	.69	.08	
program	.53	-.43	
policies & organization	.72	.60	
Percent of Variance	.56	.13	.69
Redundancy	.32	.01	.33
Canonical R	.75	.33	
Probability	.000	.011	

and processes and outcomes; providing intellectual stimulation is the next most strongly related to both in-school conditions and processes and outcomes. The transactional leadership dimension, contingent reward, performs as expected in relation to in-school conditions and processes (Table 5, part a), but we cannot explain its performance in relation to outcomes (Table 4, part b).

**Summary and Guidelines**

As with most single, empirical studies, this one has its share of limitations. Among the most prominent of these are the unknown consequences of a low rate of response to the survey and the exclusive reliance on teacher perception data, although these perceptions were especially appropriate for most of our purposes. Furthermore, although the language of influence and causation was sometimes used for conceptual reasons, in reporting results, evidence is purely correlational in nature.

Table 5 continued

## B. Transactional Leadership

Variables	First Canonical Variate	Second Canonical Variate	
Predictor Set- transactional leadership	Correlation	Correlation	Total
manage by exception	-.86	.51	
contingent reward	.90	.45	
Percent of Variance	.77	.23	1.000
Redundancy	.32	.01	.33
Criterion set - in-school conditions and processes			
school goals	.94	-.02	
school culture	.85	-.10	
teachers	.75	-.25	
program	.55	-.62	
policies & organization	.61	.55	
Percent of Variance	.57	.15	.72
Redundancy	.24	.01	.25
Canonical R	.65	.18	
Probability	.000	.084	

Keeping these limitations in mind, results of the study suggest that leadership processes, as a whole, had modest but significant direct effects on most categories of teacher perceived outcomes: They had relatively strong and significant effects on in-school conditions and processes, however. Transformational leadership processes had their greatest direct effect on those teacher perceived outcomes labelled Programs and Instruction and School Goals, as well as on student outcomes. Also with respect to outcomes, transactional leadership processes had their greatest direct effect on Program and Instruction and especially Teacher outcomes. These effects were primarily due to the dimension Contingent Reward. Management-by-Exception contributed negatively to outcomes. Put differently, avoiding this process was an effective form of leadership behavior (i.e., being more rather than less involved in the school restructuring process).

Leadership processes, as a whole, were strongly related to all in-school conditions and processes. This relationship was exceptionally strong with respect to School Culture and School Goals; Management-by-Exception was strongly but inversely related to all in-school conditions and processes. Among the six dimensions of Transformational Leadership, Holding High Performance Expectations contributed least to our understanding of Transformational Leadership. This is in contradiction to much of the leadership literature emerging from effective schools

studies. Helping develop a shared vision, developing consensus about group goals, and providing intellectual stimulation contributed most to both the conditions and process of school restructuring and teachers' perceptions of outcomes.

### *Guidelines*

Based on the general argument advanced in the article and the specific results of the study that was reported, we conclude with eight guidelines or assertions concerning leadership appraisal for school restructuring:

- School leadership appraisal ought to be viewed as one important element of commitment-building orientations to school restructuring; "Restructuring efforts are by their very nature 'bootstrapped' endeavors, relying on the existing system of people and resources to renew themselves" (National Leadership Network, quoted in Seeley, 1992, p. 16). Appropriate forms of leadership appraisal are one useful means to assist those in a key role to renew themselves.
- As Stiggins and Duke (1988) have demonstrated in relation to teacher evaluation, there are a great many variables to be considered in designing an appraisal system that produces change. The criteria (or standards) serving as the basis for appraisal are only one of a large number of such variables. Nevertheless, its status among the remainder is preeminent. No matter how refined the other elements of an appraisal system might be, they are irrelevant if the appraisal criteria are misguided. Put differently, *how* an appraisal is conducted ought to be considered of secondary importance to *what* is being appraised.
- Criteria included in leadership appraisal systems need to reflect, in part, the unique characteristics and demands of local district and school contexts. Nevertheless, when such local demands include school restructuring, there are powerful theoretical and increasingly compelling empirical reasons for criteria to focus centrally on a transformational model of leadership. This model of leadership encompasses practices that stimulate change across a wide array of organizational types and contexts.
- Appraisal practices provide not only performance feedback to school leaders, they also symbolize organizational values. For this reason, the model of leadership on which appraisal criteria are based should receive prominent attention in descriptions of district appraisal policies and in many other forms of communication.
- For leadership appraisal to be instrumental in school restructuring, it should be viewed as the needs assessment "front end" of leader-

ship development initiatives. The same model of transformational leadership giving rise to appraisal criteria should also underpin leader selection criteria and the objectives of leadership development programs. "Nothing is more central to reform," Fullan argues, "than the selection and development of teachers and administrators" (1991, p. 12). Coherence across these formal leadership development mechanisms creates powerful forces for change over time.

- Developing transformational leadership practices cannot be done solely or even primarily through formal mechanisms, however. It will take the exercise of transformational leadership by district leaders, for example, to develop the vision, shared goals, values, and perceived self-efficacy needed to foster transformational practices among school leaders.
- Among the most promising starting points for district leaders undertaking this task is the *process* they use for leadership appraisal. Such process should model, for example, consensual power and shared control, among other central tenants of transformational leadership.
- Finally, for reasons explained earlier, the most authentic evidence of transformational practices by school leaders will be provided by teachers. Such evidence should figure most prominently in leadership appraisal. Leadership is in the mind of the "follower."

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# Appraisal of School Principals in an Australian Department of Education

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## Abstract

The aims of this study were, first, to consider from a theoretical perspective performance appraisal as a concept and as practised in 1991 in the Hunter Region of the NSW Department of School Education. Second, perceptions of the functioning of performance appraisal held by school principals in the Hunter Region were sought by questionnaire. Opinions of the principals on several dimensions of the appraisal process were measured, and appropriate scales developed. On the basis of questionnaire responses from 122 primary and secondary principals, subsequent interviews of a small number of targeted principals were also conducted to provide more detailed information

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on the process. The principals saw some positive aspects of performance appraisal insofar as it involved negotiation and was focussed on professional development. They were less inclined to support the use of performance indicators in the process. They also accepted that accountability was a legitimate concern in performance appraisal. Perhaps a useful indicator of future developments was that principals who had been involved in performance appraisal were more favourably disposed towards the process than those who had not been involved.

### **A Background to Performance Appraisal of Principals**

Interest in the appraisal, evaluation, or assessment of teachers and their teaching has burgeoned over approximately the last 15 years (Lokan & McKenzie, 1989), and can be seen as part of a much wider demand for accountability (Wragg, 1987; Wyatt & Ruby, 1990). Specific interest in appraisal of the principal's performance has been much more recent, especially in Australia. Australian state education systems have used various selection criteria for principals (Chapman, 1984), but procedures specifically for the professional development or accountability of principals have only been evident in the private sector. For example, the Sydney Catholic Education Office has increasingly introduced evaluations for lay principals seeking the renewal of contracts. In the United States, where a new wave of accountability is sweeping education programs at all levels, there is a movement towards reviewing principal performance in considerable detail, adopting methods commonly used in teacher appraisal. In the United Kingdom the review system appears to be based on more global principles and is not narrowly tied to accountability. In Australia, demands for qualitative improvement and enhanced accountability in schooling tend to dominate educational politics at both state and federal levels. Evaluations introduced in Queensland and South Australia aim to review, systematically and regularly, the effectiveness of education in order to improve learning opportunities for students (Wyatt & Ruby, 1990). Until recently, most of the literature on teacher appraisal has emanated from the United States and that on principal appraisal from the United Kingdom. Very little of what has been written is research based.

With respect to the mechanism of appraisal, McCleary (1979) insists that at its heart there is a system of evaluation which Shipman (1979) claims should be a basic management tool in all organisations. Given that staff appraisal is a necessary part of staff development (Erskine, 1990) and an encouraging part of personal professional growth (Mar-

land, 1986), McCleary's (1979) claim that self development of the principal should be the focus of any evaluation is an extremely pertinent observation.

The school effectiveness movement has emphasised the need for an all-embracing system of evaluation covering organisation, management, curriculum, and staffing. However, Blase (1987) suggests that the ongoing evaluation of school principals is not receiving sufficient attention. If principals are to improve their performance, Harrison and Peterson (1988) emphasise that the system of evaluation must be clear, specific, and understood by both the evaluators and the evaluated. If principals are to be committed to, and gain most benefit from, an appraisal system they ought to be involved in its development. This will require some training because, as Williams and Mullen (1990) found with teachers, although they were prepared to be involved in appraisal programs, their knowledge of the practical operation was generally very limited, frequently inaccurate, and often based on hearsay. More research in the field and practical experience in the process of evaluation is necessary before an effective appraisal process for principals can be developed. Such a process will need to account for the diverse range of schools in any system and the qualities of leadership required to administer them effectively. Indeed, Leithwood and Montgomery (1986) developed a profile describing leadership types linked to school improvement. Although profiles of leadership effectiveness were able to be described, how such leadership traits were acquired remained elusive (Leithwood, Begley, & Cousins, 1990).

The process of evaluation is equivocal. Marland (1986) suggests that in-school evaluation is the corollary of the autonomous school and staff appraisal is an integral component of this. However, Murphy (1985) argues that there is a need for a formal process, and Duke and Stiggins (1985) consider a uniform appraisal process to be desirable. The process, according to Deal (1977), should be continuous, collaborative, and lead to general professional improvement and development.

Some necessary preconditions should be met if performance appraisal for principals is to be uniformly introduced into a system. Firstly, there is the question of who should be involved in the process. A wide variety of appraisal schemes reviewed by Newman (1985) were typically hierarchical. Conversely, Duke and Stiggins (1985) considered peer evaluation to be very desirable, and Blase (1987) suggested that teacher feedback should be included in the evaluation of school principals. The choice of appraisers was also considered to be crucial by Williams and Mullen (1990), who perceived the danger of personality clashes. Secondly, reliability and utility should be the appropriate measures of

effectiveness of the performance appraisal process, if the process is to be objective (Ginsberg & Berry, 1990). Thirdly, it is argued that appraisal schemes should be properly resourced (James & McKenzie, 1986; Williams & Mullen, 1990). Finally, if performance appraisal schemes are to be improved, there is a need for a data base from which sound decisions about various processes may be made (Ginsberg & Berry, 1990).

Appraisal has sometimes been linked to remuneration, but Marland (1986) contends that its practicality for salary assessment is doubtful. However, there is some indication that principals and teachers would accept an appraisal system which has implications for promotion, as with the Scottish system (Erskine, 1990). Nevertheless, the general trend in the U.K. and Australia has been more towards appraisal with strong links to professional development.

### **Historical Perspectives on the Introduction of Performance Appraisal**

Interest in performance appraisal by the NSW Department of School Education surfaced in the mid-1980s, resulting from concern by Federal and State Governments for more cost-effective and responsive management practices in the public sector. School inspection had been replaced in NSW by a form of within-school appraisal in 1978. A subsequent development was the Teacher Assessment Review Schedule (TARS), an annual summative appraisal of teachers completed by the principal but having no developmental thrust. This system was seen to be ineffective and an attempt was made to replace it in 1986 by a developmental process called the Teacher Efficiency Review (TER). The focus was performance accountability and professional development and it included the principal within the target group. However, the emphasis was considered by teachers to be directed at the inefficient teacher and the TER was withdrawn after pressure from the NSW Teachers' Federation.

Discussions continued and in April 1986 a document, *Good Teaching Practice: Agreed Statement of Principles*, was accepted by the Federation and Department leading to the cooperative development of an in-service program entitled *The Effective Schools Development Program*. With a change of government in 1988, the issues of accountability and development were again brought into focus. A management consultant, Scott, was contracted by the Government to review the organisation and management of the public school system. Consequently responsibility was devolved from the centre and a Senior Executive Service of the Department of School Education was established. Geographic groupings of High Schools and their feeder primary schools (clusters) are overseen by "cluster directors." There has been a movement away from the previous

seniority list system for promotion to selection on merit, a change planned to take place between 1991 and 1994. A move towards a Performance Appraisal system was hastened by Scott, who in his management review recommended that "the present Teacher Assessment Review Schedule should be replaced by a system of on-going Performance Appraisal which links teaching responsibilities to School Renewal goals, and which provides feedback, encouragement and support on a continuing basis" (1990, p. 245).

By 1991, a Performance Planning and Review Scheme for the Senior Executive Service of the Department of School Education was in place. It was based on renewable, individually negotiated contracts which have "well defined management objectives with rewards and sanctions based on rigorous evaluation of performance" (Department of School Education, 1990, p. 2). The scheme's contract details a list of duties; specific performance criteria include strategies, performance targets, and performance indicators which are meant to supplement and formalise the Senior Executives' process of feedback, review, and development.

The Senior Executive Service appraisal scheme has set a precedent for a system-wide performance appraisal approach. The Teachers' Federation and the Department of School Education have been discussing goals, procedures, and roles for system-wide implementation and should agreement be reached it is expected to be implemented. Such a system should augment the relatively new role of the cluster director, who is the interface between the bureaucracy and the school community and whose role, in part, is to enhance school improvement generally. Some support structures for an effective appraisal process exist. For example, within the new provisions for the devolution of financial responsibility, some allowance has been made for professional development with a significant amount going to schools.

A performance appraisal scheme for principals was trialled in 1991 to develop a cohesive process which could both address accountability requirements and identify developmental needs of school personnel. The appraisal trial for principals was announced formally in April 1991 when a discussion paper, *Performance Planning, Review and Development (Performance Appraisal Scheme) for Principals*, was released by the NSW Department of School Education. Details of the scheme were prefaced by a letter from the then Director-General of School Education, Sharpe, who explained that agreement for performance appraisal had been reached with the NSW Teachers' Federation and that it was planned for all staff by 1994. However, negotiations as to the nature of the process are still continuing. A draft document dated February 1992, *Teacher Performance Appraisal Scheme*, was released to schools in March 1992 (Mc-

Clelland, 1992). The framework proposed for teacher appraisal in the draft is identical with that announced in 1991 for the appraisal of school principals.

The Sharpe document stressed the development of a professional and collaborative relationship between principals and cluster directors, individual professional development, school-centred management, and the achievement of the Department's corporate objectives. Operationally the Performance Appraisal Scheme has four stages: a planning stage, progress review, formal annual review, and implementation of decisions and agreed development plan. In the planning stage principals and cluster directors discuss and reach agreement on key responsibilities, goals, targets, and performance indicators. The key responsibilities are those activities that focus on school priorities. Goals are statements of intent and targets are statements of outcomes to be attained by a specified date. Performance indicators are described as pieces of information which define how the achievement of agreed targets will be measured. As such, they are likely to be a combination of quantitative and qualitative measures which enable the achievement of a specific target to be demonstrated.

The review process includes structured, regular meetings and reporting arrangements, as well as informal processes in the course of the principal's normal duties. These processes complement the progress review and also that of a formal annual review. The progress review is to occur at least once in a 12-month review cycle. It is a less formal process which focuses on key responsibilities and progress in achieving agreed targets. The annual review is the formal meeting in which the principal and cluster director (a) complete the evaluation of the principal's performance during the year, (b) make decisions based on that performance, (c) formulate targets and indicators for the ensuing year, and (d) agree on an appropriate development plan.

The outcomes will be documented and copies of agreements and reports signed and retained by both the principal and the cluster director. Copies of reports are to be retained by the cluster director for 2 years before being returned to the principal concerned. All principals and cluster directors will be trained in objectively reviewing their own performance and the performance of others and in preparing and reviewing individual development plans. Every 5 years the principal's tenure will be also considered in the annual review. A grievance procedure has been proposed to settle any disagreements that might occur.

### The Study and the Sample

The study reported here was undertaken in 1991 to gauge the response of principals in the Hunter Region to the Principal Performance Appraisal procedure which was being trialled in NSW. A questionnaire was developed based on the principles outlined in the *Performance Planning Review and Development* document and was forwarded to all of the 266 principals of government schools in the Hunter Region. A total of 122 principals returned the survey, a response rate of 46%. It would seem that the low response rate was related to the political climate at the time. During 1991 the principals had received conflicting directions: from the NSW Teachers' Federation advising them not to be involved in the performance appraisal process (Hennessy, 1991) and from the Department of School Education encouraging participation during the 1991 voluntary implementation phase (Sharpe, 1991).

Survey forms were returned by 58% of the region's secondary principals, 48% of class-free primary principals, and 35% of teaching primary principals. Only 19% of principals from the smallest schools (fewer than 26 students) returned forms. This suggests that size of school was also a factor determining the rate of response. About 22% of responses came from female principals and this matches the ratio of female to male principals in the region.

Some 45% of the males and 36% of the females who responded indicated that they were involved in trialing some form of performance appraisal. Those trialing the process tended to be younger and less experienced in their present school and as a principal. Older principals reported gaining their understanding of performance appraisal from departmental documentation, whilst female principals and younger principals more often derived their understanding from pursuing a personal interest.

In summary, the typical respondent to the survey was a male principal aged about 50 years who had been a principal for about 6 years and in his current small urban primary school for 5 years or less. His understanding of appraisal had been obtained mainly through Department of School Education documents and briefings. Less typical were the significant minorities of younger principals, female principals, and secondary principals.

### Design and Results of the Survey Instrument

The questionnaire developed was in two parts (Part A seeking general background information on respondents, and Part B seeking perceptions

of performance appraisal), and was followed by an interview of a small number of selected principals from those who had volunteered to be interviewed when they completed the questionnaire. In fact, two-fifths of the respondents indicated they were prepared to be interviewed. Six principals were selected for interview based on their age, experience, type of school, location in the region, and familiarity with performance appraisal. The interviewees were encouraged to elaborate as far as possible on their responses to the last section of the questionnaire. Specific attention was directed towards the last question, "Have you alternatives to performance appraisal?", because this question had not been answered in depth.

Results from each question from Part B of the survey instrument are now described briefly. The first several sections looked at the concept and criteria of the appraisal process and the latter sections at specific aspects of the process itself. All statistical analyses were performed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS, 1988).

#### *Reasons for the Introduction of Performance Appraisal*

The first question sought to discover the perceptions principals held of the reasons for the introduction of performance appraisal. Respondents were asked to rate (on a five-point scale of importance) the reasons given by the NSW Department for the introduction of performance appraisal. They were also asked to indicate the extent to which each of the stated reasons should have influenced the introduction of performance appraisal (ideal importance). The means and standard deviations of the actual and ideal responses for each item are shown in Table 1.

The most influential reasons perceived for the introduction of performance appraisal were "accountability" purposes and to satisfy the "Government's corporate plan." The least significant reasons were perceived to be "improved student outcomes" and to "aid the principal's planning."

The reasons that ideally should have influenced the introduction of performance appraisal were ranked differently by the respondents. A group of these principals' professional development, the linking of teaching and learning to the plans and goals of the school, and improved student outcomes were the most preferred reasons. Those considered least important were a trade-off for a salary increase, satisfying the Government's plan for school corporate management, and ensuring public confidence in public education.

Using the difference between the means for actual and ideal reasons for each question as an indicator of dissatisfaction, the greatest dissatisfaction

Table 1

*Actual and Ideal Reasons for the Introduction of Performance Appraisal and Discrepancies Between Actual and Ideal*

INFLUENCES	Actual		Ideal		Discrepancy MEAN
	MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.	
Improved student outcomes	2.9	1.2	4.1	1.0	-1.2
Principal's professional devel.	3.2	1.1	4.1	0.9	-0.9
Aid principal's planning	3.0	1.1	3.8	1.1	-0.8
Linking teaching to school goals	3.5	1.1	4.2	0.9	-0.7
Individual career planning	3.0	1.2	3.6	1.1	-0.6
Public confidence in education	3.5	1.2	2.8	1.2	0.7
Accountability	4.3	0.8	3.6	1.1	0.7
Government's corporate plan	4.3	1.0	2.4	1.1	1.9
Trade off for salary increase	3.6	1.2	1.7	0.9	1.9

faction existed for the items concerning the Government's plan for school corporate management, and a trade-off for a salary increase, both of which were considered to have been given too great an emphasis. In the opposite direction, principals perceived the largest discrepancies between the reasons which lead to improved student outcomes and the professional development of the principal. Table 1 also shows the discrepancies between actual and ideal reasons for the introduction of performance appraisal, with the items re-ordered from high negative discrimination (indicating actual reasons were less important than ideal) to high positive discrimination (indicating actual reasons were more important than ideal).

The Departmental assumption seems to have been that school-based appraisal schemes would be a natural progression from the implementation of performance appraisal with the Senior Executive Service (Sharpe, 1991). This assumption is questionable given that principals have indicated that they consider political expediency may have been the most influential factor in its introduction.

#### *Negotiation of the Appraisal Process*

A negotiated process was the basis of the appraisal scheme being trialled. Negotiation was expected to take account of the context of the school community and the school's renewal plan. The scheme was to reflect and support the school's renewal plan, the regional and cluster management plans, the Department's corporate and strategic plans, and the areas of emphasis. Question 2 examined principals' perceptions

Table 2

Results of Negotiated Appraisal Process: Means &amp; Proportions

RESULTS	Scale 1 - 5 MEAN	NIL/ MINOR	MOD- ERATE	Responses %	SUBST/ GREAT
	21			22	
Inhibits individual creativity and leadership	2.5	57	21	22	
Fosters conformity within cluster	2.6	53	22	26	
Establishes career paths	2.8	37	34	29	
Ensures Government's goals for schooling	2.9	35	34	31	
Develops corporate style Public Service	3.0	38	26	36	
Accelerates school renewal process	3.4	20	33	47	
Improves management skills	3.4	18	34	48	
Gives valid and reliable feedback to principal	3.4	15	36	50	
Enriches individual professional development	3.4	17	33	50	
Develops agreed measurement process for school outcome	3.5	14	30	57	

about the negotiated appraisal process, the results of which are seen in Table 2. In this table, the original five-point scale has been collapsed into three categories to give the percentage distribution shown. The items have been re-ordered in the table from least likely to most likely results of performance appraisal.

The principals as a whole did not indicate strong views (the average mean at 3.1 being just above the mid-point of the scale) about the extent to which the negotiated appraisal process would result in the outcomes listed. With the exception of two potential outcomes, more than half of the respondents indicated that the outcome would be achieved, to a moderate, substantial or great extent. The exceptions were *fostering conformity in the cluster* and *inhibiting individual creativity and leadership*, where the majority of respondents indicated that these would be achieved to a "nil" or "minor" extent.

When asked whether the appraisal process should be the same for all principals, a clear majority (59%) said "no." Many of these respondents added that they had reservations about simply indicating "no." The reasons for their reservations were very similar to the reasons given by those who answered "yes" to the question. There was a generally-held opinion that since principals and schools are very different, the appraisal process should have at least some individualised elements to it. On the other hand, there were comments to the effect that there should be some common elements to the process based on a need for reliability, objectivity, and credibility within the system.

### *Reliability of Appraisal of Key Responsibilities*

Key responsibilities of principals were listed in the Performance Appraisal document and principals were asked if they could be reliably appraised. The results appear in Table 3, with means and standard deviations for the four-point scales shown, together with the total proportion agreeing, the latter being the sum of those who agreed and tended to agree. The responsibilities have been re-ordered from most to least reliable. The majority of respondents agreed that the key responsibilities could be reliably appraised.

### *Setting Goals and Targets*

In the context of the school's renewal plan, the principal and cluster director were expected to list goals and specific targets to be achieved during the review period. The persons and groups with whom the principals preferred to be involved in setting goals and targets are listed in descending order of preference in Table 4. Again, five categories of response from "nil" to "great" have been reduced to three in reporting the percentage distributions.

In preparing their goals and targets, principals preferred their staff to have the greatest input, followed by input from their own cluster director. It is of interest that principals did not rate highly the involvement of other principals, in contrast to suggestions in the literature. As cluster identity and networking opportunities increase, principals may feel

Table 3

*Reliability of Appraisal of Key Responsibilities of Principals:  
Means & Percentage Agreement (4 Point Scale)*

KEY RESPONSIBILITIES	MEAN	S.D.	% TOTAL AGREE
Management of finances and resources	3.5	0.6	95
Curriculum planning, implementing, developing	3.4	0.6	94
Staff professional development processes	3.3	0.7	90
School renewal admin.	3.3	0.7	89
Student welfare practices	3.2	0.7	86
Classroom management practices	3.0	0.9	75
Professionalism in teaching	2.9	0.8	74
Contribution to cluster or region	2.9	0.8	74
Public relations	2.8	0.8	68
E.E.O. principles	2.6	0.9	53

(Total agreement-tend to agree + agree)

more comfortable with peer involvement. On the whole, principals preferred not to involve students or members of the wider community.

When invited to comment on others who might be involved in target setting for principals, 10% of the principals nominated selected school executive members of staff. There was a variety of other suggestions.

### *Importance of Specific Performance Indicators*

Principals were given a set of performance indicators, largely derived from the trial Departmental appraisal document, and were asked how important they were in appraising the principal's contribution to effective schooling. Table 5 ranks the indicators in the order of importance expressed by the respondents. The scale had five categories ranging from "No importance: Should not be emphasised," through to "Most important: Should be strongly emphasised." In the table, the middle category has been omitted and the other four categories collapsed into two extremes: "very or most" important and "little or no" importance.

Of the 23 indicators suggested, only 5 were supported by at least half of the respondents whilst 13 indicators had a mean of less than 3.0 (the mid-point). The indicator with the most support focused on the effort and achievement of students rather than of the principal, and the other four concerned various aspects of school documentation (curriculum, planning, and management) and extent of parental involvement. Two other indicators involving parents were considered next most important: *parental participation in decision-making*, and *records of school communication to parents*. At the other extreme, most principals believed that two indica-

**Table 4**  
*People to Involve in Setting Goals and Targets: Means & Proportions (5 Point Scale)*

PEOPLE INVOLVED	MEAN	S.D.	% Responses		
			NIL/ MINOR	MOD- ERATE	SUBST/ GREAT
Staff	4.0	1.1	11	17	73
Cluster director	3.6	1.1	17	26	56
Parents	3.0	1.2	31	31	38
School council member	2.8	1.3	40	28	32
Other principals	2.8	1.2	46	24	31
Choice of cluster director	2.5	1.4	57	14	28
Students	2.4	1.2	59	26	16
Members of community	2.1	1.1	67	23	10

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Table 5  
*Importance of Performance Indicators: Means & Proportions*

PERFORMANCE INDICATORS	MEAN 1 - 5	VERY/ MOST	LITTLE/ NO
Recognition of student achievement/effort	4.3	86%	1%
Quality of school curriculum documents	3.7	59	9
Extent of parental involvement	3.6	55	7
Documentation of School Renewal Plan	3.5	52	16
Documentation of management of school resources	3.5	50	14
Parental participation in decision-making	3.4	42	11
Records of school communication to parents	3.2	34	23
Staff involvement in after-school in-service	3.0	26	24
Demonstrated commitment to E.E.O. principles	3.0	27	30
Number and variety of school-based committees	2.9	27	31
Percentage of staff involved in extra non-classroom activities	2.9	23	29
Number of staff upgrading qualifications	2.8	20	30
Involvement in Cluster/Regional committees	2.7	15	37
Number of school events occurring	2.7	15	35
Participation and success of students in various external competitions	2.7	16	40
% of progression from Year 10 to Year 12*	2.6	22	40
Proportion of students involved in voluntary extra-curricular activities	2.6	15	39
Student results in external examinations	2.6	13	41
Participation and success in sporting activities	2.5	8	46
Number of staff absences	2.5	21	48
Columns of publicity in the local newspaper	2.4	8	54
Value and extent of corporate sponsorship	2.0	4	70
Ratio of computers to students	2.0	2	75

\*This was the only indicator specific to secondary schools.

Table 6  
*Preferred Degree of Structure*

DEGREE OF STRUCTURE	RANK ORDER			
	1	2	3	4
Formal process/written reporting	9%	36%	5%	49%
Formal process/no written report	6	16	57	22
Informal process/written report	64	25	11	1
Informal process/no written report	36	18	22	23

tors, the *ratio of computers to students* and the *value and extent of corporate sponsorship*, should not be used as indicators of effective schooling. Additional indicators were suggested by 35% of respondents who focussed particularly on aspects of staff development and school climate.

### *The Review Process*

Several aspects of the review process itself were investigated by seeking the opinions of principals. These include the level of structure preferred in meetings, the frequency of meetings, and feelings about aspects to be discussed.

*Degree of structure.* Table 6 indicates the level of structure preferred by the respondents in meetings to review their performance agreement. Alternatives were ranked by respondents from 1 to 4. The table illustrates that about half the principals indicated that a formal process with a written report was their least preferred option. However, the same option was either the first or second preference of a significant minority (45%). Almost two-thirds gave their first preference to an informal process with written reports, and another quarter had this as their second preference, making a total for this option of almost 90%.

*Frequency of meetings.* Table 7 indicates the preferred frequency for performance review meetings which principals were asked to rank from 1 to 4. Almost four-fifths of the principals had as their least preferred option meetings which took place more often than once a term. Half of the respondents most preferred meetings twice a year, and a total of almost 90% had this as either their first or second preference. A notable minority (35%) gave their first choice to meetings once a term.

*Degree of comfort.* Principals were asked to indicate how they would feel discussing a number of items which would ordinarily be included in review meetings with their cluster director. Items included the discussion of targets and performance indicators and professional development needs. A rating from 1 (agitated) to 5 (very comfortable) was given for each item. The vast majority of principals indicated that they were comfortable discussing such matters. Additional comments from 40 respondents dwelt on their relationship with their cluster director as being a significant factor.

### *The Interviews*

Interviews were conducted with six respondents (two female and four male). Owing to distance, some interviews were conducted by telephone. The areas probed were: accountability and development, the

Table 7  
*Preferred Frequency of Meetings*

FREQUENCY	RANK ORDER			
	1	2	3	4
Yearly	25%	22%	35%	17%
Half Yearly	50	39	11	0
Once per term	35	24	41	0
More frequently than once per term	6	8	6	79

performance appraisal system proposed, performance indicators, the role of the cluster director, and alternatives to performance appraisal.

### *Accountability or Development*

There was some disagreement as to whether the emphasis of performance appraisal should be on accountability or on professional development since both were extremely important. One principal thought that the two were inextricably bound because proper evaluation leads to an understanding of the need for change which, in turn, leads to development. There was a more general acknowledgment that the Government's "economic imperative" and the subsequent emphasis on accountability was legitimate. Indeed, one young principal felt that "principals should push themselves."

### *The Performance Appraisal System*

There was strong agreement that the performance appraisal system should be tied to the school's renewal plan. One principal saw appraisal as a "simple solution to a complex problem" but that it at least enabled people to feel that they were "moving." Another saw appraisal as accountability being "sugar coated" by being called developmental. She also thought that the documentation which would be used could act as a "cover up" and might not truly reflect what was going on in the school. One principal voiced the concern that, if appraisal became the norm, there was a danger that the system could become a "mechanical process" due to pressures of time, with the result that no real change would occur.

One principal saw the relative dangers of formal and informal approaches of appraisal, and felt that the trade-off between the two needed more careful analysis. There was a shared understanding amongst these respondents that principals differ in both experience and learning needs

and that this should be in some way taken into account by being built into the appraisal criteria. Generally speaking, despite their specific concerns, all interviewees saw the process of appraisal as logical and non-threatening, and were in agreement that there should be broad criteria with room for individualisation.

### *Performance Indicators*

The indicators suggested were not highly thought of by the interviewees, perhaps because they appeared not to be well understood. They were thought to be another way of stating objectives, which were considered to be unacceptable in principle.

### *The Role of the Cluster Director*

An amicable, collegial relationship with the cluster director was thought to be most important by the interviewed principals, all of whom expressed confidence and trust in their present cluster director. However, there were some reservations about the cluster director's role in the appraisal process. One principal felt that if any "punitive" elements crept into the relationship, it would be very easy for a principal to close off communication. The young male principal interviewed strongly favoured a formal relationship because the cluster director was his supervisor. He also felt that the cluster director need only have contact with other staff at his school if they were doing something either very good or very bad. An older female principal thought that younger principals need "emotional pats" from the cluster director, whereas older principals usually have a small number of colleagues who give support. The dichotomous role of educational audit and professional development was acknowledged by each principal, even though two older principals felt that the main role of the cluster director was to provide "technical" or "resource" support. On an extreme note, one secondary principal even advocated disbanding cluster directors and splitting their salaries amongst the high schools, allowing them to employ another in-school manager.

### *Alternatives to Performance Appraisal*

Although none of the interviewees had a well-developed alternative to performance appraisal as set out in the Departmental document, there were points they wished to make with respect to the future. The first few concern school climate:

- When performance appraisal becomes the norm for all teachers, they will need to feel valued.
- We need a "culture change" towards caring.
- We need to start building the climate now for 5 years hence.

With respect to the nature of the appraisal process, the interviewees made the following comments:

- Teachers, principals, and cluster directors need to be involved in the development of the scheme to ensure its success.
- There needs to be considerable role clarification to provide a goal to measure performance against.
- Principals should set their own standards with a panel of two or three other principals at the same level and/or an "empowered" school council.
- Independent people should set broad objectives which are then made specific for the principal concerned.
- Principals should be 5-year trained by doing an accredited course in administration.
- Appraisal should be by a school "balance sheet" which is linked to the renewal plan.
- Principals need training in understanding and managing change before becoming accountable via performance appraisal.

### Relationships Within the Data

The analyses thus far have been specific to each structured item in the questionnaire. Given the amount of specific information collected, it seemed desirable to group individual items into scales to enable more concise analyses of relationships in the data obtained.

### Scale Development

Six scales were developed from three different sections of the questionnaire to summarise the opinions of principals about different aspects of the performance appraisal process. For each section the relevant items were factor analysed and scale reliabilities were calculated. Items were discarded if they did not load on the appropriate factor or if they loaded on any other factor, using 0.3 as the appropriate factor loading in both cases. Items were also discarded if they were found to be reducing the reliability of the scale in which they were placed.

The scales developed directly from the questionnaire items were as follows:

1. Two scales were developed from Q.2 concerning the results of the performance appraisal process. They measured the extent to which

principals perceived that the process of performance appraisal fostered: (a) professional development, including management skills; and (b) conformity, including the Government's corporate goals. The scales are called *Professional Development* and *Conformity*.

2. Three scales were developed from Q.6 concerning the importance of selected performance indicators in appraising the principal's contribution to effective schooling. The scales related to the importance of the following: (a) involvement or participation by staff, students, and parents in school activities (*Participation*); (b) school records and documentation (*Records*); and (c) success of students in external academic and sporting competitions (*Competition*).

3. A single scale was developed from Q.8 assessing how agitated or comfortable each principal would feel in discussing a range of items at review meetings with their cluster director. Items addressed the following potential aspects of interviews: discussion of issues to be taken into account, professional development needs, a review of performance targets, and an open exchange of views (*Meetings*).

Overall dissatisfaction with the philosophy of the introduction of performance appraisal was measured by summing the discrepancies between the actual and ideal reasons the principals believed had influenced the introduction of performance appraisal (Q.1 of the questionnaire—called the *Overall Dissatisfaction* scale). Obviously the discrepancy between the actual and the ideal varied considerably for the different reasons suggested. Overall, the mean discrepancy in either direction was reasonably high at 1.3 out of a possible 4.0.

Characteristics of the seven scales are shown in Table 8. All scales, except the Overall Dissatisfaction scale, had potential ranges from 1.0 (representing a perceived low level) to 5.0 (representing a perceived high level of the characteristic). On average, the principals indicated that they saw the performance appraisal process fostering a high level of professional development and a lower level of conformity. They saw the keeping of records as an important component of the process, with participation as less important and competition as of minor importance in the process. In general, they felt (or believed they would feel) comfortable in appraisal meetings with their cluster director. Satisfactory scale reliabilities were achieved, ranging from 0.78 for the Conformity scale to 0.86 for several of the other scales.

#### *Relationships of Background Variables With the Scales*

The possible effects of gender, primary/secondary level, years of experience (seniority), and whether the principal had been involved in trialing the appraisal process (trial) were tested on each of the seven scales

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Table 8  
*Scale Characteristics*

SCALE	ITEMS	MEAN	S.D.	RANGE	RELIAB. (Alpha)
Professional Development	3	3.4	0.83	1.3-5.0	0.80
Conformity	3	2.8	0.98	1.0-5.0	0.78
Participation	9	3.0	0.66	1.0-5.0	0.86
Records	6	3.3	0.71	1.0-5.0	0.86
Competition	6	2.6	0.72	1.0-4.7	0.86
Meetings	4	4.1	0.68	2.0-5.0	0.86
Overall Dissatisfaction	9	1.3	0.70	0.0-3.8	0.81

Table 9  
*Summary of Statistically Significant Relationships of Background Variables  
With the Scales*

SCALE	VARIABLE	2-WAY INTERACTION	DIRECTION
Conformity	—	Level/Yrs principal	Primary & Senior higher.
Participation (Indicators)	Gender	—	Females more imp.
	Involved	—	Trial gp more imp.
	—	Gender/Trial	Females & Trial gp more important.
Records (Indicators)	Gender	—	Females more imp.
	—	Yrs principal/Trial	Senior & Trial gp more important.
	—	Gender/Trial	Females & Trial gp more important.
Competition (Indicators)	Gender	—	Females more imp.
	—	Yrs principal/Trial	Senior & Trial gp more important.
	—	Gender/Trial	Females & Trial gp more important.
Overall Dissatisfaction	—	Yrs principal/Trial	Senior & Trial gp lower dissatisf.
Meeting (Comfort)	Gender	—	Females higher.
	—	Level/Trial	Secondary & Trial group higher.

using analysis of variance (SPSS, 1988 pp. 364-377). Relationships, including two-way interactions, which were significant at the 0.05 level are shown in Table 9. No higher order interaction was significant. There were no relationships between any of the background variables and the scale measuring the extent to which the negotiated appraisal process assists in professional development.

*Gender differences.* Gender was the most significant factor overall for the scales. Female principals (whether they were participating in voluntary appraisal or not) were more likely to see the performance indicator scales of Participation, Records, and Competition as important in the process. Gender also interacted with whether the principal had been involved in the trial appraisal in affecting responses to the three performance indicator scales. Male principals showed no relationship between their approach to record keeping and their involvement in the trial, while females who were involved indicated a higher commitment to record keeping. Female principals also felt even more comfortable in meetings with their cluster director than their male counterparts.

*Length of service.* Length of service was not independently linked with any of the scaled variables, but frequently interacted with involvement of the principal in the trial of performance appraisal. Longer-serving principals scored highly on the Conformity scale. Those involved in the trial voluntary appraisal process saw record keeping to be more important, and saw indicators in the Competition scale as more important. More senior principals involved in the trial felt comfortable or very comfortable when discussing their appraisal with the cluster director.

*Trialing the process.* Principals involved in trialing performance appraisal saw "Participation" as a more important performance indicator than other principals. More usually, however, being involved in the trialing interacted with either gender or experience to have an effect on different scales. In general, being involved in trialing performance appraisal was linked with greater acceptance of its overall purpose, practice, and the indicators suggested for the process.

### Conclusions

The survey reported here was developed from a Departmental discussion paper on the trialing and implementation of the performance appraisal of school principals. Both the questionnaire responses and the interviews indicated that principals saw positive benefits arising from an appraisal process if it focused on their professional development, with appropriate feedback incorporated. However, they accepted that accountability is also a legitimate concern to be addressed by the process.

The context in which they want performance appraisal to be undertaken is the improvement of student outcomes with teaching linked to school goals.

The process being trialled was a negotiated one and this aspect was seen as essential by principals because it enabled the individuality of schools and principals to be recognized. Both the literature and the survey results strongly suggested that, for appraisal to be effective, participants need to be involved in the development of the process, cognisant of the essential concepts, and trained for its implementation. Given the new Senior Executive system, a key figure in the principal's appraisal process is the cluster director, and principals believed that for a negotiated appraisal process to work effectively it is necessary for the cluster director to play a positive and collegial role. Overall, the principals were favourably disposed towards involving their current cluster director in setting goals and targets, with most preferring staff involvement in this process. Specifically, principals were comfortable in discussing their performance with their cluster director, particularly if the process was informal.

Principals felt that their key responsibilities can be reliably appraised, particularly those which are quantifiable and documented. In fact, the importance of documentation was a recurring theme in the questionnaire responses. However, the use of the performance indicators suggested in the questionnaire is contentious. More generally, the use of performance indicators was not strongly supported and the principals suggested that other measurement strategies should be investigated.

Overall, the principals responded favourably to the appraisal process, although they saw a considerable discrepancy between the actual and ideal reasons for its introduction. However, it must also be borne in mind that they were reacting to the specifics of a Departmental document which perhaps gave the concept some legitimacy. Even so, it is apparent that they saw positive effects in the process, particularly in so far as it involved negotiation and was focussed on professional development. The positives of performance appraisal were particularly evident to the principals who had been involved in the trial process. This could have resulted from the trial principals being self-selected or could have been a result of their experiences during the process. In general, the future acceptance and usefulness of performance appraisal of principals would seem to depend on its flexibility, enabling it to be adapted to different situations and needs.

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# Merging Evaluation and Administration

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*Naftaly S. Glasman*

Both parts of this two-part issue have been written by scholars and scholar-practitioners who teach and engage in research in several states in the United States as well as in Canada and Australia. The contributions to these issues represent scholarship in educational administration, scholarship in educational evaluation, and scholarship in the mix of the two. In the past (e.g., Glasman, 1979), the "mix of the two" focused on the evaluative work of administrators in their daily school operations. Currently, however, political demands for educational accountability have focused attention on the performance of the principal in facilitating school improvement. In addressing this concern, these issues extend beyond the past and merge administration and evaluation by focusing on evaluation of the principal's performance in fulfilling role responsibilities. In this last article, we assess the implications of each contribution with respect to the newly-emerging field of principal assessment and offer some thoughts on new directions it is likely to take within the current political context surrounding education.

To assess performance is an effort to cover quite a bit of territory. In evaluation, performance is specific to a given job situation (e.g., Darling-Hammond, Wise, & Pease, 1983). Performance evaluation of the principalship covers a variety of job situations. Because of the complexity of interrelationships among the school's context, its learning-related processes and student outcomes, it is likely that the assessment of

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performance of one principal may be quite different from that of the performance of another principal.

The articles in these issues adopt one of four basic approaches to principal evaluation: (a) the role-based principal assessment approach, (b) the outcome-based principal assessment approach, (c) the standards-based principal assessment approach, and (d) the structure-based principal assessment approach. The manner in which the principal's important tasks are conceptualized in each approach dictates what in the job is being assessed. For example, when the role is the focus, evaluation of performance is pertinent. When attainment of outcomes is the focus, evaluation of effectiveness is pertinent. When the evaluation process itself is the focus, the use of evaluation standards (e.g., Joint Committee, 1988) is pertinent. And when restructuring the governance system is the focus, evaluation of an empowered position is pertinent.

### **Role-Based Principal Assessment**

The set of articles adopting this conceptual approach to principal assessment all focus on developing theoretical frameworks for viewing the principal's role—a role that has been in transformation with respect to changing social and political demands on educational institutions. This assessment may be viewed as the set of tasks, responsibilities, and actions comprising a given definition of the role, focusing specifically on the language that makes up the job. Collectively, the authors argue that because principals' influence on learning outcomes is at best indirect, assessment should focus primarily on the principal's social interactions. Diverse role expectations that create conflicting demands on principals and varied school social contextual settings present obstacles to developing principal evaluation systems.

For Hart, the concern is the interaction between the unique context of the school and the individual principal's response to specific sets of needs and problems. Hart ties principal evaluation to the social system of the school, arguing the need for strong substantive theory to guide principal assessment. Hart grounds her approach to principal evaluation in organizational socialization and leader/follower interaction theory. The focus of this approach to principal assessment is on "action-in-context" and using qualitative research methods to connect the complex set of school activities to an assessment of how the principal acts to influence in school processes (i.e., shape interactions). Hart suggests that principals could be evaluated in terms of their ability to use organizational analysis (e.g., of school culture) to determine school needs and implement strategies to meet school goals.

Similarly, Duke and Iwanicki argue that the assessment of school leadership is not just on performing the "right" behaviors, but rather should also include assessing the performance with respect to the school context. Because role expectations vary both across and within the educational context, their concern is how the principal is "perceived" to be performing. Specifically, Duke and Iwanicki focus on reassignment decisions that must be made when it is determined that the administrator does not fit with local school expectations. The authors provide data from exploratory studies that indicate reassignment often leads to success in the new position. Principal assessment, then, cannot be understood only in terms of skill- or goal-based evaluation. Training alone does not determine who will adjust to local expectations and be successful in new situations. The Duke and Iwaniki article suggests the possibility of understanding community and staff expectations so that appropriate matches can be made between principal and community.

Ginsberg and Thompson address several conceptual issues in attempting to evaluate principal role performance. Because previous studies on the principalship have not specified *how* leadership is translated into desired processes and learning outcomes, it has been difficult to standardize the work of principals. In addition, in restructured educational governance, there are multiple constituencies (e.g., parents, teachers) that each have a well developed view of how the school should be run. As Ginsberg and Thompson indicate, this creates competing demands for principals to address. The varied nature of the principal's work and the school context raise issues about the extent to which principals can be held accountable. For evaluation, therefore, it presents a challenge to specify what processes should be used to monitor the principal's performance. A concern for the authors is how to specify behavior that is important to developing school processes and then how to measure it. Interestingly, where one group of authors argues for focusing on principals' interactions because of the uncertainty of the role in producing outcomes, Ginsberg and Thompson argue that assessment should focus primarily on results of principal role efforts, rather on the specifics of how one gets there. They suggest adopting a "consumer oriented" approach to assessment.

### Outcome-Based Assessment

Besides creating a variety of role dilemmas for principals, political demands for educational accountability have resulted in an increased concern with school outcomes. The articles adopting this conceptual approach to assessment focus primarily on the in-school effects of prin-

cipal actions. Snyder and Ebmier and Glasman provide studies that investigate principal actions in relation to intermediate outcomes (e.g., effects on teachers) and learning outcomes, respectively. The Rallis and Goldring article and the Heck and Marcoulides article address the application of empirical studies on principals to the development of systems to evaluate the effectiveness of the principal's performance in relation to outcomes.

Snyder and Ebmier present a recently completed study on the effects of principal actions on other in-school processes. The study is based on strong theory about areas in which leaders can affect organizational processes. They argue that principals have minimal control over students' affective lives as well as limited control over contextual elements currently. In contrast, their influence over intermediate outcome variables (i.e., those concerning teacher work, instructional lives, and satisfaction) is considerable. Given these findings, which provide support for the belief that principals exert considerable direct influence on how the school functions (and indirectly on its outcomes), the authors argue that evaluation should focus on the principal's effects on teacher variables such as perceptions about how the school functions to achieve desired goals.

The Glasman article concerns evaluating the effectiveness of decisions principals make when school outcomes are defined as the problem. The article, which presents summaries of studies focusing on principal actions, highlights differences in actions taken to improve outcomes where school scores are declining over time, holding constant, or improving. The article concerns evaluation on two levels: (a) the process of evaluation principals use in developing rational decisions about student achievement problems, and (b) in light of evidence that there are differences in this behavior, implications for the evaluation of the quality of their actions in relation to outcome-based assessment. Differences found in the nature and extent of principal interventions to solve student achievement problems demonstrate that it is possible to evaluate the effectiveness of actual steps taken to solve problems.

Implications for outcome-based assessment are that principal actions constitute specific objects of evaluation, and may be observed in an effort to assess the effectiveness of their performance. This assessment could include how they conceptualize the problem, how they collect data, the types of interventions they structure, and the effectiveness of those interventions. Glasman cautions that in designing principal assessment systems we must be viewing the pertinent action in regard to some *specific* evaluation purpose and that the "right" data must be collected about principal actions with respect to this evaluation purpose.

The type of data collected and the manner in which it is reported back to principals will thus vary.

Rallis and Goldring argue that principal evaluation efforts must be separated into those that involve leadership processes that the principal uses (i.e., individual responsibilities and process oriented) and the outcomes produced in the school (i.e., product-oriented and group responsibilities). In this article, the issues of principal responsibility and control begin to surface as part of the evaluation process. While effective schools research has opened up outcome-based evaluation, there is no clear relationship yet between the school principal and direct control for outcomes. Realistic evaluation, therefore, should include individual accountability for certain processes, as well as school-based accountability for outcomes. Examples of activities of greater direct responsibility and corresponding control might include facilitating team decision making, directing the school's resource allocation, articulating the school mission, and interacting with parents and staff.

The authors suggest a team-oriented approach to evaluation to design measures for those leader activities that appear to be most related to important school processes. A next step would involve looking at outcomes, which are the products that result from process. As they argue, because of the diverse variables that contribute to student outcomes, there is less individual control, and hence, there should be less individual responsibility in this area.

Heck and Marcoulides point out pertinent conceptual and methodological problems in developing assessment systems in relation to principal evaluation that is outcome based. They suggest that evaluation should be based on the findings of theoretically-driven research on principals combined with established personnel evalution practices used in other fields. The necessary first step is identifying aspects of the role that are related to specific evaluation goals and purposes (e.g., Snyder and Ebmeier suggest four overall role functions). Heck and Marcoulides focus on the function of goal attainment, where the principal's contribution to school processes related to outcomes are one measure of goal attainment.

The second step focuses on the measurement of behavior. They propose a method for assessing performance that is flexible and applicable to a wide variety of situations (e.g., behavior, cognitive strategies used to solve problems). Heck and Marcoulides argue that evaluating the principal's performance involves trade-offs, as not all aspects of the role can be adequately observed and measured, in part because leadership is embedded in organizational culture. While admitting the inadequacy of any attempt to assess or model organizational "reality," any theoreti-

cal approach to principal evaluation (e.g., process-oriented, product-oriented or both) must tap important aspects of the evaluation process itself, provide psychometrically sound data, and be useful in improving administrative practice.

### **Standards-Based Assessment**

The two articles in this section are complementary and demonstrate the utility of evaluation standards (e.g., Joint Committee, 1988) to current principal evaluation practices. Given that leadership actions influence the quality of schools, for Stufflebeam and Nevo a first step in assessing principal performance is to delineate grounded job requirements for the role. The authors argue that any assessment of personnel performance must be rooted in specific job responsibilities. The notion of "best practice" criteria may not apply completely to the assessment of principals because these criteria may not be sensitive to contextual changes in principals' jobs over the short run. Stufflebeam and Nevo, therefore, caution against developing standardized instruments that correlate principal behavior with outcomes for evaluation purposes because (a) outcomes alone are not sufficient indicators of effectiveness, and (b) the principal is only one of many contributors to school achievement.

Glasman and Martens' article focuses on the extent of the evaluation standards' (Joint Committee, 1988) use in the actual practice of districts' assessments of principal performance. Here, the primary focus is on how districts, as opposed to schools, view the evaluation of principal performance. They present an exploratory study to discover whether standards are embedded in how districts think about evaluation and, specifically, the principal's role. Glasman and Martens suggest there is a correspondence between district policies, local contextual considerations, and how evaluation is perceived as an administrative function. Evaluation standards may be viewed as proxy variables for philosophies and values districts hold about evaluation, and they serve as a useful methodological tool for developing and studying evaluation systems within a district context. While the use of evaluation standards is high, the authors note differences in the specific standards emphasized across districts. That is, the relative observed importance attached to a particular evaluation standard in administrators' minds may be a function of current district evaluation purposes and past norms and values. It may also reflect problems in implementing and evaluating principal assessment.

Specifically, utility standards (having as a goal being informative and influential) as a group appeared to have the highest priority among

districts in the study, while accuracy standards had the lowest priority. These may be the most difficult to achieve, and require more training on the parts of administrators. Glasman and Martens conclude by suggesting that it may be unrealistic to expect districts to implement the full range of evaluation standards that should ideally be considered in evaluating educational professionals (Joint Committee, 1988).

### Structure-Based Assessment

The articles in the last section all focus on structure-based aspects of the principal's role, yet they provide an interesting contrast to reform underway in different parts of the world. Smylie and Crowson in the United States and Leithwood et al. in Canada focus on structural changes in educational reform toward teacher and parent empowerment and their corresponding effects on the principal's work. Leithwood et al. and Smylie and Crowson argue that restructuring in Canada and the United States has implications for how the role of the principal is conceptualized and consequently how we evaluate the empowered role. The present view of the principal's role appears inconsistent with behaviors needed to restructure schools and lead under those conditions. Leithwood et al. suggest the role is becoming more "transformational" under these conditions, rather than "instructional" because the purposes of leadership are becoming more diverse. In contrast, Clayton-Jones et al., within the Australian context, look at the perceptions of principals themselves in a centralized educational system and their attitudes toward "top-down" mandated principal assessment.

Driven by accountability demands, Australia has recently implemented an appraisal system for principals. Clayton-Jones et al. provide a comprehensive view of a centralized system implementing a change. The study investigates the reactions of principals in one part of the country to the implementation of the evaluation implications as well as the state's response to those demands. One implication of this is that principals believe the assessment process should include negotiation, be sensitive to contextual differences in schools, and focus on areas of principal responsibility and control, as opposed to outcomes. The study therefore provides important data about the implementation of an evaluation process from the participants' perspectives.

Leithwood et al. provide a comprehensive model of how the school operates around principal leadership. Consistent with Ebmeier and Snyder, yet drawing from a somewhat different theoretical framework about leadership, Leithwood et al. find principals exert strong direct effects on other in-school processes, and weaker effects on school out-

comes. In-school processes were the strongest predictors of a variety of teacher-related variables. Among the most important leadership behaviors associated with these school process variables were developing a shared school vision, reaching consensus about group goals, and promoting a school environment that is intellectually stimulating for teachers. The implications of these findings for principal assessment are that what is being evaluated (i.e., the object of evaluation) and the criteria used for evaluation must reflect the unique character of the school and district. Embedded in these choices are the organization's values, not only about performance feedback, but also about what it believes is central to its mission, the type of leadership it values, and its goals.

Smylie and Crowson indicate that governance restructuring places new demands upon principals. Not only are there still demands for products produced in the school, but principals become responsible for the processes (e.g., shared decision making) used to achieve products. They label these demands "process produced" effects on administrators. Participation in governance has several consequences for assessing principals. First, it raises issues about who has decision-making authority. From data collected in two case studies, the authors note that decision-making zones of influence may or may not change as a result of shared decision making. A second issue is that principals become accountable to implement decisions that have been made by a council with wide participation. This creates implications for how the principal attempts to "sell" these decisions to other staff members.

As the authors acknowledge, the principal may still be accountable for school processes and indirectly for outcomes, but they must lead with a more *shared* management style. Under restructured governance, performance may rest on making shared decision making work, with reduced direct control over the decision-making process. Ultimately, as Smylie and Crowson note, the evaluation of the principal's performance is related to assessing a wider community of individuals making school-related decisions. In contrast to evaluation in a closed system, there is a need to open up the evaluation process to stakeholders, not just principals' superiors.

### **Emerging Concepts and New Directions**

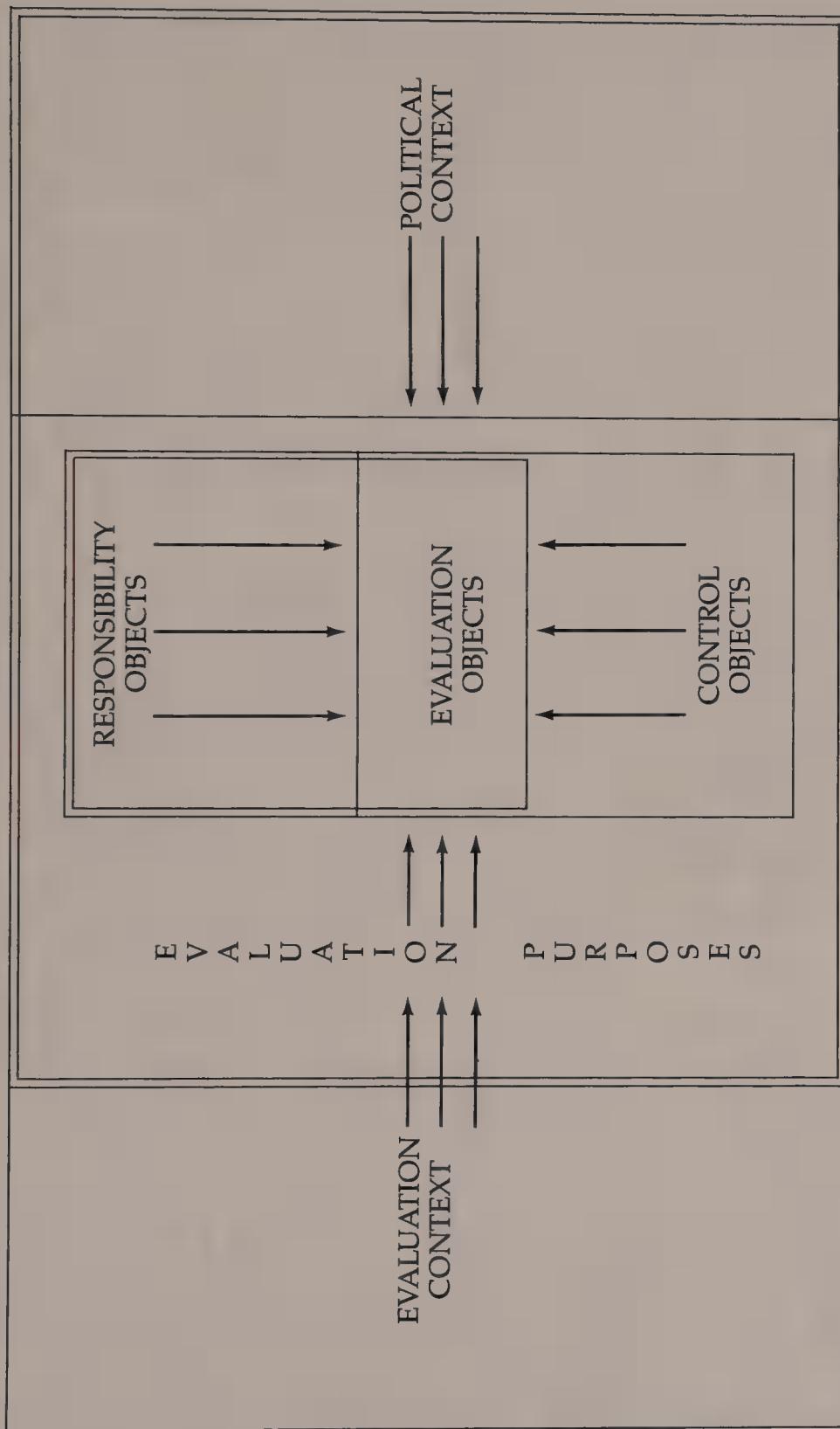
A variety of approaches was apparent in the various articles in these issues on the topic of assessing the work of the school principal. Some articles provided contextual frameworks. Others provided empirical studies of various sorts that add to our knowledge of the principal's role and the process of assessing this role. Still others provided a variety of

advocacy positions. Some concepts for building a framework for principal assessment seem to emerge from reading each article in the context of the basis for the assessment (i.e., role-based, outcome-based, standard-based, structure-based). One central concept deals with the principal's responsibility and with the implications it has on the assessment of the principal's work. Another central concept emphasizes the control which the principal exercises (e.g., over decision making or in-school processes) and its implications for assessment. A third concept is essentially a simple evaluation concept. It focuses on evaluation objects, and it asks what it is exactly about the role that is being evaluated.

In some ways the three concepts are complementary to each other. Evaluation objects imply that which is being evaluated. All dimensions of the work of principals for which they are responsible are potential evaluation objects. The choice of objects is a function of the evaluation purpose. The selection here is from all relations between principals and anyone else (e.g., person, agency) to whom they are accountable. As the authors indicate, no evaluation object should be chosen over which principals have no control or little responsibility.

As to control, only objects may be evaluated over which the principal exercises guiding power. Here, too, specific evaluation objects are chosen from a set of "controlled" objects as a function of the evaluation purpose. Seldom do objects of control completely overlap objects of responsibility. As Smylie and Crowson note, currently under restructured educational systems responsibility may actually increase, while control over some traditional administrative functions may actually decrease. Ultimately, only evaluation objects (e.g., teachers' instructional objectives, student referral policy) for which principals are responsible and over which they have control should be included in any assessment. Again, the choice of evaluation objects will be a function of the evaluation purpose.

The entire set of relationships between objects of evaluation, including objects of responsibility and objects of control, and the purpose of evaluation is embedded within two important contexts which themselves overlap somewhat (Glasman & Glasman, 1990). One is the political context within which policies are made at the state, district, and building levels. The other is the evaluation context which has been politicized at the federal, state, and local levels. It has included the evaluation of teachers and administrators. The overlap between the political and evaluation contexts of the principal's role has been significant. Figure 1 depicts the relationships between the responsibility, control, evaluation objects, evaluation purposes, and political and evaluation contexts of the principalship.



*Figure 1. Principal as evaluatee.*

Much remains unknown. A key issue is which evaluation objects to choose in developing principal assessment. The array of objects is almost unlimited. The more specific the evaluation object, the more there is a need to include a large number of objects in the evaluation. In contrast, the broader the object the more ambiguous it becomes. Research is needed to determine the degree of specificity of the evaluation objects which districts use in their principal assessment practices, as well as that which is desirable in creating effective principal evaluation systems.

Not all is clear about responsibility and control, either. Principal accountability has been established in many domains of the role but not with its concomitant control domains. Likewise, some areas of control which have been specified do not yet have corresponding areas of responsibility. The exact influence which emphases of responsibility and control have on principal evaluation has not been established. Research needs to address this inadequacy.

The political and evaluation contexts determine who the evaluators are and who the rest of the stakeholders are. Those contexts constitute determinants of the responsibility and control dimensions of principal assessment as well as of its evaluation purposes and objects. Are these contexts similar in different school districts? If not, what makes them different? Are the different principal evaluation schemes found in various districts (e.g., Glasman & Martens, this issue) a function of different contexts? These are only some of the questions future research needs to answer. As the authors of these issues all concur, the impact of the larger political and social context surrounding the school on the principal presents a formidable challenge in assessing the quality of the principal's work.

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# Japanese Teacher Education, Part I

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# Introduction

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*Tetsuya Kobayashi*

*Carolyn A. Hawley*

*Willis D. Hawley*

This two-part issue is the result of a collaborative project involving faculty from 22 schools of education in the United States and Japan. This project is called the Japan-United States Teacher Education Consortium (JUSTEC).

With one exception, the articles that make up the core of this issue are authored or co-authored by Japanese scholars. The one exception is the article written by Nancy Sato, an American of Japanese descent who has been one of the members of the Stanford University team participating in JUSTEC.

One of the major purposes of JUSTEC has been to foster insights about teacher education in each country by allowing us to compare what is being done in the other country. As this collection of articles goes to press, JUSTEC enters its 6th year of existence. One of our major goals for JUSTEC has been to undertake collaborative research across countries. Some of this kind of research has been conducted, and more is planned. We found, however, that before comparative research could be productive, we had to understand the differences between our two approaches. Moreover, we had to understand different ways of thinking about teaching, teachers, and teacher education in Japan and the United States. This issue will introduce the reader to structural and programmatic

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characteristics of Japanese teacher education and to the philosophical issues that concern teacher educators in Japan.

Teacher educators in Japan, like those in the United States, have very high ambitions for the people that they prepare to teach. Their ambitions transcend the development of professional knowledge and skills. They see teachers as change agents in society who will equip the children they teach not just to succeed as individuals, but to create a better world for others.

Most, but not all, of the articles focus on preservice teacher preparation. It is important for readers to realize that throughout their careers Japanese teachers are unlikely to pursue advanced degree programs of study (although some do). However, most Japanese teachers will have substantially greater opportunities than do American teachers to participate in various kinds of professional development activities. These activities include consultation with colleagues, study groups, programs offered by local and prefectural training centers, conferences, institutes, and foreign travel.

In order to give full voice to the Japanese scholars who participate in JUSTEC, we have published their articles in two issues of the *Peabody Journal of Education*. There is some overlap in the material covered by the various articles, especially with respect to the characteristics of pre-service preparation and teacher education programs. To aid the reader in understanding the main structure and patterns in Japanese teacher education, the Appendix provides a summary description of the role different institutions play in preservice teacher preparation.

The work of JUSTEC has been funded on the Japanese side by the Ministry of Education (Mombusho) and by the participating universities. In the United States, funding has been provided by the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education and the participating universities.

Japanese universities that have participated in JUSTEC are:

Chiba University  
Hiroshima University  
Hyogo University of Teacher Education  
Kyoto University  
Kyoto University of Education  
Tamagawa University  
Tokyo Gakugei University  
Tsukuba University  
University of Tokyo  
Waseda University

American universities that have participated in JUSTEC are:

Columbia University (Teachers College)  
Indiana University  
Michigan State University  
New York University  
Ohio State University  
San Diego State University  
Stanford University  
University of Hawaii  
University of Minnesota  
University of Washington  
Vanderbilt University (Peabody College)

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the Tennessee-Japan Society.

# Japan's Teacher Education in Comparative Perspectives

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*Tetsuya Kobayashi*

Teacher education in Japan, as compared to other countries, possesses special characteristics which can be divided into three distinct areas—administration, structure and curriculum, and students.

## Administration of Teacher Education

In any modern society, teacher education as an aspect of public education is nationalized in the sense that its quality is standardized nationally. The way of guaranteeing such standardization, however, differs among nations in accordance with the nature of their government. In countries like Japan and France, which have centralized systems of government, teacher education is regulated by the national laws and regulations and is administered by the central government, usually through its department or ministry of education. The degree of power entrusted to the ministry varies in each nation. In some countries, the ministry monopolizes the power while in others the central government shares the responsibilities with the local governments. Japan may find itself in the latter situation, as is explained later. In any case, the power of the central government, or more precisely of the central bureaucracy, is stronger in the countries of centralized government than in those of federal states.

In countries such as the United States and Germany, in which the central ministry of education has little power, the responsibility for teacher education is in the hands of provincial governments, namely states or lands. In such cases, national standards for teacher education are secured either by the statutory organization (such as the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education in Germany), or by less formal

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professional organizations (such as the American Association of School Administrators in the United States). In the U.S., the federal Department of Education acts as a national center for information and occasionally issues policy papers which may or may not affect the policies of the states. The professional associations for teacher education, such as the American Association for Colleges of Teacher Education, play as important a role for nationwide standardization of teacher education in the United States as in centralized nations where equivalents may also exist (as in the case of Japan).

The most important statute regulating the Japanese national system of teacher education is the Law for Certification of Educational Personnel, which was first passed in 1849 (modelled after the American system) and which has undergone several important revisions, the last one in December, 1988. This law provides standards for the certification of teachers with the intention of developing and maintaining teacher quality. In the case of public school teachers, whose status is that of local educational public servants, their recruitment and employment are governed by the Local Public Service Personnel laws, the Law for Special Regulations Concerning Educational Public Service Personnel, the Law Governing Special Measures on Salaries of Educational Personnel in National and Local Compulsory and Other Schools, the Law Concerning the Organization and Administration of Local Educational Administration, the School Education Law, and others. These laws set forth the basic characteristics of the administration of teacher education which may be summarized as follows:

1. It is the primary responsibility of the Ministry of Education to oversee the effective enforcement of the laws concerning certification and training of teachers by issuing regulations and other administrative orders, by authorizing the institutions for teacher education, by advising and assisting those institutions and local governments, and by establishing institutions for teacher education.
2. In performing these functions, the Minister of Education is advised by the Council of Teacher Education, which is composed of experts in teacher education and representatives of various interests: local education authorities, university representatives, and school principals. For major policy issues, public hearings are often held by the Ministry.
3. Prefectural boards of education are the local education authorities in 47 prefectures which issue teaching certificates to those fulfilling the requirements set by the national law and the Ministerial regulations. Teaching certificates issued by individual prefectural boards are valid for life in all prefectures.

4. The recruitment of new teachers is the responsibility of the prefec-tural boards of education, which annually conduct open screening tests for those applicants who are, or will be after completing training courses at universities or colleges, qualified teachers. The tests tend to be highly competitive, although the degree of competitiveness may differ according to the kinds of school, local conditions, and subject matter. At present, because of the decline of the school population at the elementary level, the competition for teaching posts at elementary schools is becoming severe to the extent of discouraging some of the potential students from taking teacher training courses.

5. Newly recruited teachers are given a one-year's probationary period before they become permanent employees, and receive initial-service training during this period. Their working conditions, including salaries, are regulated by the above-mentioned laws and other related governmental orders and regulations. The retirement age is set at 60 years of age, the same as other local civil servants. It is clear that teaching is a highly secure profession for both men and women.

6. The planning of initial-service training, as well as inservice training, of teachers is the responsibility of prefec-tural boards of education. The actual training takes place at the schools in which the teachers are assigned to work, and at the education centers set up by prefec-tural boards. A selected group of teachers also receive training courses conducted by the central Ministry of Education.

7. Universities and colleges are the places where preservice education for future teachers takes place. They also offer facilities for inservice training. In order to provide preservice education, universities and colleges are authorized by the Ministry of Education first as institutions of higher learning and secondly as teacher training institutions.

### Structure and Curriculum for Teacher Education

The structure or system of teacher education in different nations can be grouped into two types: unified systems and dual or multiple systems. A typical example of the unified system is found in the United States, where all preservice education is conducted at universities or colleges. In the case of multifaculty universities, faculties (or schools) of education are charged with teacher education, not only for their own students, but also for those students in other faculties (or schools). They usually offer a variety of courses for teacher education: courses for elementary school teachers, secondary school teachers, special education teachers, and school administrators. Some schools or colleges may concentrate on

certain courses, but few, if any, universities or colleges are institutionally specialized for teacher education; the courses for teacher education are offered beside those of other academic and professional courses within the same institutions.

An example of a multiple or dual system of teacher education was found in England until the 1970s, during which time the reform of teacher education began to take place. Until then, teacher education was conducted in three types of institutions with different status and functions: university departments of education for academic secondary school teachers, colleges of education for elementary and nonacademic secondary school teachers, and various specialized colleges for certain specialized subject matters, such as music, fine arts, and others.

During the 1970s and 1980s, changes occurred in England, and consequently a large number of independent colleges of education, usually of small size, were integrated either with the existing universities, becoming the education faculties of the latter, or with newly established polytechnics, again becoming the education schools or departments of the latter. Whether this kind of change could be regarded as a natural course of development in the history of teacher education should be a matter for further consideration. In England's neighbor to the north, Scotland, teacher education is still conducted at colleges of education, which, however, train their own students and those who intend to be academic secondary school teachers and who have already obtained the first degree at universities.

The Japanese system of teacher education was transformed after the Second World War from the multiple type system to a unified one. Previously teachers were trained in different kinds of institutions according to the type of school where they planned to teach: elementary school teachers at normal schools, and secondary school teachers either at higher normal schools or at colleges or universities. The latter was not particularly specialized for teacher education, while normal and higher normal schools were especially established for the purpose.

The reasons for the reform were multiple, apart from the fact that the reform was made during the post-WWII period when the American influence was dominant. One major reason was the disparity then existing among institutions for teacher education. Normal schools were regarded as institutions of secondary or quasi-post-secondary level. Higher normal schools and colleges were institutions of higher education but without the authority to grant degrees, while only universities enjoyed full university status. The disparity reflected on the academic quality and social prestige of the institutions, and resulted in the dispar-

ity among the teaching profession of different levels with regard to educational and social status. It was clearly against the principles of democracy and egalitarianism in the post-war reform.

Normal schools were also criticized for their narrow vocationalism, which was again against the idea of a free teaching profession. If teaching were to be considered a profession, teachers should be trained in universities along with other professionals such as engineers, lawyers, and doctors.

Thus, under the new system of education formed in 1949, old normal and higher normal schools were abolished, and within national and private universities faculties of education were set up for the purpose of teacher education, as well as for the study of education.

Although a unified pattern of teacher education was thus established, two compromise measures were taken. One was the establishment of junior colleges as institutions of higher education which did not have full university status, but which nevertheless were also authorized to provide courses for teacher education. There were, however, no junior colleges which took teacher education as a singular function. Another compromise was the establishment of several independent single-faculty universities of education, which were founded on former normal schools which did not wish to be integrated with other institutions. However, unlike their antecedents, they were given equal status with other multi-faculty universities and provided their students with a broad liberal education as well as a professional education. During the 1970s, three additional single-faculty universities were created with the intention of providing inservice education for teachers. This will be discussed later in the article.

In summary, the present system of teacher education in Japan takes the form of a unified pattern. The curriculum for preservice education in these institutions for teacher education is developed within the framework set by the Law for Certification of Educational Personnel and other regulations. Its characteristics can be summarized as follows:

1. All teachers, in both public and private schools, must have teaching certificates which are classified by school type (such as kindergarten, elementary, middle, high school, and special school), by subject matter in the case of middle and high schools, and by the particular specialty of special education in the case of special education teachers and nurse-teachers. Certificates are further classified into three levels, as second class, first class, and "specialized" or advanced class, depending on the level of education achieved. Second class certificates are given to those graduates of 2- or 3-year junior colleges, while 1st class certificates are

for graduates of 4-year universities. Specialized certificates are for those with a master's degree. Promotion to a higher class can be obtained through additional schooling in universities or institutions set up by prefectural boards of education. The years of previous teaching in schools can be counted as part of the requirements for promotion. The holders of second class certificates are required to make an effort to obtain a first class certificate within a specified time period.

2. The above-mentioned system of certification was introduced by the revision of the Certification Law in 1988, which made certain improvements. It raised the level of schooling required of teachers. Previously, the highest level certificate for teachers in kindergarten, elementary, and middle schools could be secured with a 4-year university education, while in the new system it has been increased to the post-graduate level, 2-year master's programs. Second class certificates are now regarded as temporary, with the definite intention of (a) making 4-year university schooling the standard for all teachers, and (b) leading toward post-graduate schooling.

3. The ministerial regulations specify the minimum numbers of course units both in education and subject matter, as well as the general requirements for undergraduate and postgraduate study. In comparison with the previous requirements, they increase the number of credit hours in subject matter education by 10-30%, thus enriching the curriculum of preservice education.

4. A Special Certificate, which can be given by prefectural authorities for a fixed term of less than 10 years and which is valid only for the particular prefecture, was created by the 1988 revision of the law. This certificate may be given to those with social and professional experiences other than teaching in various subjects or activities in which such individuals are considered to be able to make a valuable contribution to students' education. The new law also makes a provision by which the local education authorities can hire individuals without teaching certificates for teaching in a limited area, such as in the instruction of certain skills in the teaching of a subject matter or in extracurricular activities. The provisions are intended to utilize the human resources outside of schools. While such an intention is appreciated as a way to expand school education, some raise the question that these provisions may conflict with the principle that all teachers should be trained professionally in universities.

5. The curriculum for teacher education in universities and colleges consists of elements required generally for graduation from universities and colleges and those required for professional education for teachers. The former includes subjects for general education which occupy about

one third of the total requirements for graduation. The latter is again divided into two elements: one in education and the other relating to the subject matter to be taught. The education courses include such subjects as principles of education, educational psychology, teaching methods, practice teaching, moral education in the case of elementary and middle school teachers, and any other educational subjects which individual institutions can offer. Under the 1988 revision, the education course is expanded by adding such subjects as school management, educational technology, student guidance, and extracurricular activities in schools, in order to meet the expanded needs of teaching. The minimum period of practice teaching is set at 4 weeks for those intending to be elementary and kindergarten teachers and 2 weeks for middle and high school teachers, but the 1988 revision adds extra hours for instruction and guidance before and after practice teaching.

6. The actual organization of the curriculum differs depending on the characteristics of the institutions. The faculty of education specializing in the training of teachers (mostly those of kindergarten, elementary, and middle schools, as well as schools for special education) offer the courses for general education and professional education. In the case of multi-faculty universities, this general education course may be offered in the separate college of general education within the same university.

7. Other university faculties and colleges not specializing in teacher education can also offer programs for teacher education, mostly for future middle and high school teachers in the subject matters directly relating to their specialization (examples: science teachers in the faculty of science and English teachers in the faculty of letters). In such cases, the subjects necessary for the requirements in subject matters can be chosen from among the subjects in the specialization of the faculty, while the education subjects have to be offered by the department of teacher education especially set up within the faculty. This system of teacher education is called an "open system," since it opens the opportunity for any faculties and colleges to offer teacher education programs provided they fulfill the requirements set by the law and regulations. The open system is intended to broaden the base for the recruitment of teachers and to give future teachers opportunities for studying with other students not intending to become teachers. On the other hand, the conflict between teacher education and subject matter education is often observed in the organization of the program. Particularly when the interest of the institution in teacher education is minimal, a lesser quality teacher education program often results. The increase in the requirements for teacher education in the 1988 revision has in fact threatened

some institutions, which find it difficult to expand the teacher education program further to incorporate increased specialized education in appropriate fields. This provides a strong argument for specialized institutions for teacher education.

8. By offering postgraduate programs for specialized certificates, universities are concerned with the inservice training of teachers. Three types of institutions offer such postgraduate programs: universities or faculties of education specializing in teacher education, universities or faculties not specializing in teacher education, and universities established especially for inservice education of teachers. The last one may deserve special mention. As they offer preservice education both for undergraduates and postgraduates, they are not set up solely for inservice training of teachers, but this is their main emphasis. The number of postgraduate students at the three universities in 1988 was 622, out of which 454, or 73%, were those teachers sent by local education authorities for 2-year inservice education with full financial support. Fewer teachers study in other types of postgraduate programs and usually for a shorter length of time.

9. Most inservice programs are conducted by local education authorities which employ the public school teachers. Such programs include: initial training for newly recruited teachers; courses for those teachers who have served for 5 years; programs for school administrators; study abroad programs; training for specialist leaders in such areas as physical education and education for handicapped children; and courses for student guidance, curriculum, subject matters, and topics. The duration of training and courses vary. The initial training for newly recruited teachers lasts for a year during their probation period. It consists of supervised teaching by senior teachers in schools 2 days per week for 30 weeks, study in local education centers 1 day per week for 30 weeks, and residential training for 4 nights. After 5 year's service teachers receive 6 days of training. Newly appointed school administrators also receive several days of training.

10. The Ministry of Education conducts what are called central and leadership training courses at the National Inservice Training Center in Tsukuba for those teachers and school administrators recommended by the prefectural boards of education. The duration of the courses varies from 2 days to over 1 month depending on the purpose and content of the training. As part of inservice training, the Ministry sends some 3,000 teachers abroad.

11. Voluntary efforts for further education for teachers include those organized by national and local groups of teachers, of which the largest

is the annual study convention organized by the Japan Teachers Union. Others on a smaller scale are organized around the teaching of a particular subject matter or special problem areas in education.

### Students—Future Teachers

A crucial condition for the improvement of teacher education is to secure a reasonable number of high quality students. This number of high quality students is one of the biggest differences between the teaching profession compared to other professions. Any national system of education requires a large number of teachers. It would be unrealistic to expect that in the institutions for teacher education, all of the students would be equal in quality to those in the medical faculties or law school, for example. Nonetheless, efforts have been made to attract students of high quality to the teaching profession through various means, not all of them successful.

A traditional method of recruiting people to become teachers was to set up a separate system or tract for teacher education to which a group of youngsters was accommodated from fairly early ages with various privileges. A typical example is the normal school, which was found not only in pre-WWII Japan, but in almost every nation in the past. Normal schools selected students of fairly high quality around the ages of 12 to 14 years from among those who were economically less well-off and provided an intensive vocational training for teaching, providing financial security and a secure job prospect. This system worked fairly well at the time when those economically and socially handicapped groups (including women) had little opportunity for secondary or higher education except in normal schools (or, incidentally, in military schools). It worked well also when the content taught in schools, particularly at the elementary level, did not require high academic training. Therefore, even at that time, the training of teachers for academic secondary schools was mainly entrusted to universities. This led to the disparity between two levels of the profession, the one for elementary teaching and the other for secondary teaching, as mentioned earlier.

The normal school system began to face difficulties, however, as the opportunities for education were opened to the economically and socially less well-off groups, the abler part of whom were attracted to other professions and for whom job security with the obligation of long service was less attractive. The status of normal schools was elevated from the secondary level to postsecondary or higher levels, and in some countries they have acquired the status of normal universities or universities of

education. In order to secure parity with other universities, however, universities of education should strive to achieve certain conditions.

The richness of the academic quality of an institution is one of the basic internal conditions that must be considered. In universities of education, the balance between the academic focus within subject matter areas and the profession of education is always a difficult problem. One solution may be that on the academic side, the humanistic aspects of each discipline may be reconsidered in the light of its contribution to the development of society and individuals, which is after all a purpose of education and thus is an institutional purpose of universities of education. On the education side, narrow vocationalism should be avoided and the professionalism of teaching should be founded on a base of rigorous academic discipline. To achieve such professionalism, help from the administration is essential. The government, either central or local, should refrain from direct interference in the details of internal matters, including the curriculum for teacher education at universities. Academic freedom of universities of education is essential if they are to achieve parity with other universities, which is an important factor in attracting high quality students.

The improvement of the status of the teaching profession is an external condition, necessary to secure good future teachers. The teaching profession increasingly competes with other professions. While the satisfaction of dealing with human development is part of this profession, it is not enough to attract a large number of potential teachers without satisfactory remuneration and improvement of other conditions.

Having discussed the problems in general terms, a few additional comments about Japan's teacher education situation follow:

1. As mentioned earlier, the Japanese universities and faculties of education have now acquired more parity with other universities and faculties after several decades of struggle. One reason for this success may be that, by introducing the unified and open system of teacher education, concerns about teacher education, including those in universities and faculties of education, have been dealt with within the larger framework of university problems. This does not mean that there have been no problems, particularly with administrative interests regarding teacher education. Attempts to solve such problems have been tried through open discussion and consultation between universities and the government. In this respect the role of national associations, such as those of universities and of universities of education, has been important.

2. The status of Japanese teachers has been improved by the govern-

ment's efforts and by public awareness about the importance of education. Voluntary efforts of teachers themselves are also important. One now can say that in general, the institutions for teacher education in Japan have been attracting high quality potential teachers. One of the difficulties now affecting the recruitment of teachers is the decline in the numbers of children, which has narrowed the opportunities for teaching. In some areas it has reached the point that youngsters with good potential are discouraged from choosing teaching as their future profession. This trend has led universities and faculties of education to broaden the curricula in order to cope with the needs of the students who look for nonteaching jobs. Thus, in the curricula of universities and faculties of education, two diverse trends have been observed: On the one hand their professionalization has been improved by the increasing requirements for professional subjects under the new regulations, and on the other hand, their liberalization has taken place by adding programs in nonteaching areas.

# The Recent Reform of Teacher Education in Japan: Politics, Education, and Teacher Education

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*Sho Takakura*

## Introduction

Japan has recently undertaken a reform of two regulations concerning teacher education—the amendment of the “Educational Personnel Certification Law” (EPCL) in December, 1988, and the revision of the “Course of Studies” (for elementary and secondary schools) in March, 1989. The latter is concerned with the elimination of upper secondary schools’ “social studies” and the establishment of “civics” and “geography and history” as subject areas. As a result, the teachers’ certificates for “social studies” were abolished and substituted with the certificates for the newly established subject areas.

In this article, three issues will be discussed: (a) the circumstances surrounding the amendment of EPCL, (b) the essential points in the amendment, and (c) some controversial issues about the amendment in the National Diet (legislature).

## The Circumstances Surrounding the Amendment of the EPCL

The fundamental principles of the present teacher education certification system were established when the EPCL was enacted in 1949. These principles included:

1. Complete implementation of the certification system and the professionalization of teaching.
2. Development of an open system of teacher education in universities.
3. Defining the importance of inservice education for teachers (INSET).

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The above law was amended several times; however, since the amendment in 1954, no other large amendment has been made.

Since the 1970s, the teaching profession has increased in importance, and the necessity for life-long learning and recurrent education has become essential. In addition, social changes and the change in teachers' roles to cope with them have been recognized.

Based on this background, teacher quality has received a great deal of attention. Therefore, the "integration and/or continuity" of preservice and inservice education has been emphasized, rather than the traditional "once-and-for-all" education. This shift was related to recommendations made by the following international organizations:

1. UNESCO's "Recommendations Concerning the Status of Teachers," 1966.
2. OECD's Meeting and Conference on the Teacher Policy, 1973-1974.
3. UNESCO's "Recommendations on the Changing Role of the Teacher and Its Influence on the Preparation for the Profession and the Inservice Training of Teachers," 1975.

Nevertheless, in spite of the proposals and/or reports of the Central Council for Education and the Educational Personnel Training Council (advisory organs to the Minister of Education) on the reforms of teacher education, the amendment of EPCL as a prerequisite of the reform of teacher education could not be developed as a result of some political and economic situations.

In 1984, with then Prime Minister Nakasone's initiative, the National Council on Education Reform was established as an advisory organ directly attached to the Prime Minister's Office. The Council's reports (the first report of June, 1985; the second report of January, 1986; the third report of April, 1987, and the final report of August, 1987) had a strong influence on the amendment of EPCL. The second report of 1986, which emphasized improving the quality of teachers by following certain measures, could be regarded as the most important driving force for the amendment. Those measures included (a) reform of the teacher education and certification system, (b) improvement of teacher recruitment, (c) establishment of the one-year induction training system for beginning teachers, and (d) systematization of the INSET system.

The Ministry of Education (Monbusho) immediately put the recommendations into practice. In an attempt to find "the measure for improving the quality of teachers" in response to the second report of the National Council on Educational Reform, the Educational Personnel Training Council issued a report in December, 1987. Some recommendations in that report which were put into practice were:

1. The establishment of the one-year induction training system for beginning teachers, which was realized in the amendment of the Law for Special Regulation concerning Educational Personnel (LSREP) in May, 1988.
2. The improvement of the teacher education and certification system, which was realized in the amendment of EPCL.

Both of these recommendations were enforced as of April, 1989.

#### **Essential Points in the Amendment of EPCL**

The essential points in the amendment of EPCL can be summarized as follows:

1. New categories (2nd class, 1st class, and advanced class) of the regular certificates.
2. The status of the teachers who hold the 2nd class regular certificates.
3. Appointment of specialists from other professions into school education (establishment of the special certificate system).
4. Raising the standard of teacher certificates.
5. Describing some particular subject area certificates in the ordinance for the Enforcement of EPCL.
6. Establishing special teacher education courses.

The one-year induction training program for beginning teachers was established in May, 1988, when LSREP was amended. Here are some essential points concerning the amendment:

1. The programs must be organized for the first year teachers at all national, prefectoral, and local public schools.
2. Teachers participating in the programs are qualified as provisional teachers on a one-year conditional probation.
3. Local boards of education can request prefectoral boards to send lecturers on a part-time basis to the programs.

The proposal for the establishment of the training program for beginning teachers has actually been in place since 1918. After World War II, the program was planned as a probationary period. Later, political, social, and budgetary reasons brought changes in its objectives and characters. In the 1950s the probationary period was one of the conditions for obtaining teacher certificates. Then, in the 1970s, probation became a form of teacher training for newly appointed teachers as well as a condition for permanent employment.

Thus, the purpose of the probation system has shifted its emphasis

from a precondition for the teacher's certificate to a condition for permanent employment, and finally to a form of training for newly appointed teachers as a part of the first stage in a life-long INSET.

### Controversial Issues Over the Amendment of EPCL in the National Diet

In amending the EPCL, there were both advocates and critics among the political parties. Following is a brief listing of both, as well as a description of their respective arguments:

Advocates: Liberal Democratic Party, Clean Government Party (Komeito), and Japan Democratic Socialist Party

Critics: Japan Socialist Party and Japan Communist Party

Fundamental assertions against the amendment were:

1. New categories of teacher certificates generate differentiated strata, impede cooperative relations among teachers, and disrupt the reliability that students and parents expect of teachers.

2. Teachers will participate in the government-organized INSET programs only to proceed on their career ladder, that is, to obtain the upper level certificates, ignoring their responsibility to children and self-training. Moreover, classification among the universities will be intensified if only those which have graduate courses can issue an "advanced certificate."

3. The influence of the national government on teacher education programs will be increased, and this will decrease the university's role in teacher education.

4. The professional status of teachers and teacher education programs in universities will be weakened if prefectoral boards of education can appoint "eligible persons" from other professions as teachers.

Contrary to the opposition's reasons noted above, the Liberal Democratic Party strongly supported the proposed amendment. Finally, the proposed law was passed overwhelmingly in both the lower and upper houses, and the supplementary resolution was made.

Some feel that the government should place more importance on Educational Personnel's Certificates and should take into consideration the following matters:

1. The need to take into consideration the discontinuation of the partial amendment of teachers' certificates so as not to discourage the involvement of academic disciplinary societies or harm the cooperative behavior of school teachers.

2. The possibility of unfair treatment of personnel or their salaries which might be the result of creating the three categories of classification of the regular certificates.
3. The needs of individual teachers when the teacher holding a 2nd class certificate wants to take a 1st class certificate, or when the teacher holding a 1st class certificate wants to take an advanced certificate.
4. Proper and fair opportunities for the advancement of teachers from 2nd class certificates to 1st class certificates.
5. Following the principle of "teacher education in universities" when granting special certificates.
6. Proper treatment of part-time teachers (specialists or professionals from the community) who do not have a certificate.
7. The need to enhance facilities for teacher education in general universities to help them follow the principle of "the open system" in teacher education. In addition, similar facility enhancement should be given to teacher education universities and facilities, including their graduate schools.

The resolution of these issues might mean a political compromise in the National Diet; however, some regard these as important factors necessary for the enforcement of the amended Educational Personnel Certification Law.

### **Concluding Remarks**

The teacher education system according to the amended EPCL was fully enforced from the beginning of the 1990 academic year. Each university prepared its teacher education courses in order to accord with the amendment (the deadline for the preparation was September 30, 1989). However, there has been no administrative measure to increase the number of the faculties to cover the strengthened teacher education curricula.

Recruiting specialists from other professions into school education is an effective way to cope with the new demands resulting from a rapidly changing society. Nonetheless, we need to be (a) careful in appointing specialists, and (b) aware of the recommendations of the UNESCO (1975) concerning this matter. Their recommendations were as follows:

1. "Specialists from other professions should be *appropriately* involved in the process of education" (the word "more" in the draft was revised to read "appropriately").
2. "This practice should be encouraged taking into account the experience of Member States and be recommended for wide implementation

wherever it has produced positive results, provided that educational responsibility remains in the hands of qualified teachers" (this Section was added into the draft).

The above revised additions made clear the need to accept specialists from noneducation professions and stressed the careful measures in utilizing this practice.

The EPCL was amended, and the one-year induction training system for beginning teachers according to the amendment of the LSREP was implemented in April, 1989. Continuous study and proper consideration are needed to enforce both the new certification and INSET systems.

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# Reforming Teacher Education to Increase Teacher Competence and Improve Entry to the Profession

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## Part I: The Reform in Teacher Education for the Development of Teacher Competence

### *Introduction*

Teacher education has been taught in universities or departments of teacher education within universities instead of Normal Schools since universities were reformed in 1949. In other words, Japan adopted an open system of teacher education in which the students might obtain a teacher's certificate if they acquired enough units to meet the standards of the Teacher Certificate Law. This resulted in two kinds of problems. One problem was the trend for students to only acquire the minimum number of necessary units to get the certificate and the other was that the standards for obtaining the certificate were low. Because of these problems, the public began to demand the reform of the teacher education system. At the same time, the policy for the improvement of the competency of teachers was put in place.

In this article, we will discuss the arrangement and reorganization of universities and faculties of teacher education, and the establishment of graduate schools of education in response to the changing times. In the conclusion, we will advance a hypothesis about the future of teacher education in Japan.

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*The Policy for the Improvement of the Competency of Teachers*

*The Report of the Commission*

A move toward the reform of the preservice teacher education system can be seen in the report of the Central Council of Education, entitled "The Policy for the Reform of the Teacher Education System" (1985). At the beginning of the report, the competencies expected of teachers are described: (a) teachers should have a proper sense of mission and a desire to help students learn, (b) they should have a general education reflecting human values and national values with a global perspective, and (c) they should have professional knowledge which reflects the changing society and the teaching profession. The report expressed the opinion that such knowledge and education should be integrated by the individual teacher to enhance the total insight and appreciation for education.

However, teacher education in reality is not like this, as the report points out. The students have a tendency to acquire the minimum needed units for getting their teaching certificates; therefore, the practice teaching and the other education courses for teachers are done in name only. As a result, students are not provided the background necessary for the occupation of teacher.

The Council is concerned with setting up the fundamental principles for teacher education in order to foster the competency of teachers. It proposes that teacher education be based upon a national standard, upon which the Ministry of Education can establish specialized universities of teacher education, as needed. In addition to that, it suggests that a standard order for taking courses should be developed.

The Council's 1966 report, "On the Enlargement and Arrangement of Senior High School," states that it is necessary to improve not only the pedagogical skills of preservice teachers (their ability to teach students subject matter), but also to improve the humanity of the individual. The report in 1971 suggests that elementary school preservice teachers should be educated mainly in higher education institutes which include that particular curriculum, and that some percent of high school teachers should be educated in a university of teacher education.

The 1978 report mentions the following points: "The majority of people want to require that teachers have a broad general education, efficient teaching ability, and care about students as individuals and as learners." In responding to the desires of the people, it is regarded as important to improve the teacher education curriculum, the procedures for appointment, and inservice training. Therefore, "universities of

teacher education should try to revise the curriculum by paying consideration to the completeness of subject matter education, student teaching, and other practical aspects of education."

In addition to the Central Council of Education, the National Council on Education Reform came into being in 1984. The National Council presented four reports, with the first, second, and fourth report referring to the reform of teacher education. The main policies for the improvement of competencies of teachers are discussed below.

The first report (1985) states:

Teachers should be equipped with the essential components, such as caring for student's learning, advanced professional knowledge, and pedagogical skills. Also, it is important to enhance the self-awareness of teachers for the revitalization of education and the teaching profession.

The second report (1986) includes the following statements focusing on the revision of the future direction of teacher education:

The contents of the major subject areas in teacher education should be revised in response to the change of the curriculum of elementary and secondary schools and recent changes among the student population. The term and contents of student teaching should be revised in accordance with the implementation of inservice training for new teachers. The allotment of required units of observation, participation, and student teaching to each level of elementary and secondary school should be examined.

The fourth and final report (1987) reemphasizes the same points and adds that the teaching certification system should be flexible enough to include the recruitment of teachers from various fields.

Coping with the basic policy for improving the competencies of teachers from the Central Council of Education and the National Council on Education Reform, the Commission on Teacher Education presented the reform certification plan. In the report of 1983, entitled "On the Reform of Teacher Education and the Certification System," the following statements are stressed:

To improve the professionalism of teachers, the increase of the standards for certification should be reconsidered by emphasizing the practical teaching ability through the revision of student teaching. Graduate schools are necessary in the process of teacher education and inservice training.

Along with the above statements, the report also offers the following propositions: Basic requirements for the new certificate resulting from the completion of the master's program should be established. Its title might be "advanced certificate." The certificate, along with the requirement of an undergraduate degree, might be called "The Standard Certificate." The minimum units of requirement should be raised in education-related subjects, particularly in student teaching for attaining the certificate.

In 1987 the Commission reported that the revised plan for the new certificate was established. This meant the revision of the standard of certificate requirements in addition to courses required for certification. For example, present subjects, such as "Educational Foundations," "Educational Psychology," "Child Psychology," and so on are changed to "Subjects relating to educational principles and objectives," "Subjects relating to the mental and physical development of the student and the teaching and learning process," and "Subjects relating to the social, systematic, or management aspects of education." Other new subjects, such as "Subjects relating to curriculums," "Subjects relating to teaching methods and skill," and "Subjects relating to student guidance" are integrated with the above subjects. Student teaching is expanded to include "pre- and post-guidance" for the beginning teacher.

#### *The Revision of the Certificate System*

Based upon the report of the Commission on Teacher Education, the law for the revision of the certification system and the establishment of the inservice training system for the new teacher was amended in 1988 and enforced in 1989. The amendment of the certification law defines three kinds of regular certificates: advanced certificate (Master Degree), 1st class certificate (Bachelor of Arts or Science) and 2nd class certificate (2-year study in university and the requirement of more than 62 units).

At the same time, the minimum units of major subject studies and education-related subjects have been raised. For example, the 1st class certification requires 18 units in place of 16 units and all 9 subjects taught in elementary schools. Forty minimum units are required, among them 20 units are restricted in their required contents. For example, students whose subject major is mathematics and science would include "the use of computers," technology majors are introduced to the subject through "foundations of information," and English language majors study "English and communication" and "comparative culture."

Education-related subjects have changed titles based upon the report of the Commission on Teacher Education. The minimum number of

units for elementary school teachers has been raised from 30 units to 41 units. At the same time, units for secondary school teachers have been raised from 13 units to 19 units and 17 units (for upper secondary school). Among such minimum unit requirements, one unit has been the addition of the pre- and post-guidance of student teaching; the units of student teaching for elementary school teachers have been raised from 4 units to 5 units, and the units for secondary school have been raised from 2 units to 3 units.

### *The Arrangement and Reorganization of the University and Faculty*

The employment rates of teachers for the new graduates from the national universities and faculties of teacher education were 78% in the highest years of 1978 and 1979. However, the rates have been decreasing yearly to 61% in 1987 and 58% in 1988. Among the three numbers, the rates of regular employees describe the decreasing curve, such as 52% in 1986, 47% in 1987, and 43% in 1988. The trend indicates worsening rates of teacher employment.

In this crucial situation, the Ministry of Education released a report in 1986, entitled "On the Future Direction of Arrangements in National Universities and Faculties of Teacher Education." The main points of the report include:

1. To allocate one part of the fixed number of new student enrollment in education to other disciplines or professions.
2. To allocate one part of the fixed number of the new student enrollment in teacher education courses to the new curriculum which lets students enter other businesses besides teaching and does not demand the teaching certificate as a requirement of graduation.
  - a. For example, to establish courses which train the students as Japanese language teachers, counsellors, instructors of social education, and professional welfare workers.
  - b. To train the students with more advanced general education and flexible thinking skills. For example, to establish the courses of General Education, International Relations, Area Studies, and so on.

The report mentioned above has had a great deal of influence on universities and the faculties of teacher education, so as to increase the number of universities and faculties which established the new courses. In response to this trend, the Japan Association of University of Teacher Education issued a report, "Some Problems Concerning the Arrange-

ment and Reorganization of National Universities and Faculties of Teacher Education," in 1988.

The report states that 3 universities in 1987 and 12 in 1988 established new courses or were reorganized. The majority of the universities established new courses, such as life-long education, information education, international education, and so on. The establishment of new courses expanded to 30 universities out of 49 by 1991. The ratio of the fixed number of students amounts to 3,125 (15.6%) of students in the Comprehensive Science Course among 19,930 of total fixed number of students.

In addition to reacting to the Ministry of Education study, the following are also reasons why universities and faculties established the new programs:

1. In response to the changes in the supply and demand for teachers.
2. In response to the changes of society (information society, internationalization, etc.).
3. In response to demand from the communities.
4. In order to develop new disciplines.
5. To promote life-long education.

Some problems have arisen in the new programs. The most important problem is that the educational objectives are not clear and, therefore, the organizational structure is weak. At the same time, the scholastic foundation supporting the new programs has extended to a large area, so the specialization is hard to define. Moreover, in the same university and faculty, teacher education courses and nonteacher education courses co-exist, and the professional areas are duplicated. Also management concerning education and research has become complicated.

In order to solve such problems, it will be important to clarify how the new programs should fit into the faculty of education. The significance of the existence of the new courses has become obscure because the new program does not require the teaching certificate for graduation. There is debate about whether the new program should remain within the framework of teacher education or should be independent from teacher education. The Japan Association of Teacher Education states that the new program should remain within the framework of teacher education, but this raises the question of the meaning behind the establishment of the new program. From a broad perspective, teacher education should not be restricted to school settings only, but incorporate the need for education throughout society. The competence and ability a teacher must have needs to expand in response to changing times. It is fortunate that the new program has such potential to reform teacher education.

*The Establishment and Reorganization of Graduate School*

A movement toward the establishment of a master's program in education in universities and faculties of teacher education began at Osaka University of Teacher Education in 1968, followed by Tokyo University of Liberal Arts in 1975; Hyogo University of Teacher Education; the Faculty of Education, Okayama University; the Faculty of School Education, Hiroshima University; Faculty of Education, Kanazawa University in 1980; and Fukuoka University of Teacher Education in 1983. By 1991, 31 universities out of 49 national universities and faculty of education had established a master's program. The remaining 18 universities are considering or planning the establishment of a graduate school. The trend toward the establishment of the graduate schools springs from the objectives of providing advanced certification in elementary and secondary schools as required by the new certificate law. That is to say, teacher education needs to prepare more professional teachers.

The Faculty of School Education in Hiroshima University was established in 1980. However, it has taken until 1991 to create the entire 10 subject areas. The main features of the curriculum standards are that (a) the school education major requires the student to take subjects related to the subject they plan to teach in addition to education courses, and (b) two subject majors in addition to the education major may be taken as an option. The purpose of these curriculum standards is to help students acquire broader scholastic knowledge. In addition to the major subject, the Study of Educational Practices and the Comprehensive Seminar of School Education are required, which place importance on both educational theory and educational practice.

Recently, in the process of establishing the master's level course curriculum, the plan for the establishment of the doctorate education program has been further developed. The Japan Association of Universities of Teacher Education set up a special committee on the doctoral program to discuss the program objectives, the process for implementing the program, and the content. The Committee on Teacher Education Doctoral Programs presented the interim report in 1991. The report mentions that the doctoral program aims to educate the researcher of education-related subjects at universities and in faculties of teacher education, and help the professional develop advanced research capabilities. The proposed title of the graduate school program is "pedagogical course" or "school education course," and the majors are listed as (a) school education and (b) subject education. Based upon the report, the graduate schools which have already been established are preparing a unique doctoral program at each university and faculty of education.

At the same time, the Japan Association of Universities of Teacher Education has started to make progress in preparing broad requirement definitions. As a result, the first doctoral program might be established at a university or faculty of teacher education in the near future.

### *Conclusion of Part I*

During the past 42 years of teacher education reform, policies for the improvement of teacher competencies and for increasing the independence and self-reliance of each university have been developed. The reform of the certification system and the revision of the curriculum in universities are the result of this policy and effort. In particular, the role of the university and faculties of teacher education has increased. As presented above, a teacher's competency is composed of various elements, such as a broad general education, professional knowledge, and education-related knowledge. Moreover, an appreciation of the importance of education and a sense of mission to help students learn should be considered part of a teacher's competency.

Teacher education must respond to changes in society. One change is the problem of the supply and demand of teachers. Other changes are the problems relating to internationalization, an increased demand for information, and life-long learning. Consequently, the arrangement and reorganization of universities and faculties of teacher education have been necessary. The increased standards for certification and the development of advanced certification are important developments, as is the establishment of the master's program in education. For future teacher education, the basic competencies necessary to the teaching profession should be promoted in the promise of appointment and in inservice training after graduation. The problem is to find a way to integrate the elements of competency, general education, subject-related knowledge, and education-related knowledge. To solve the problem, we must pay more attention to student teaching through which a sense of mission as a teacher might arise. If the transition from preservice preparation is not attended to, the effects of teacher improvements in education may have little influence on the quality of teaching in Japan.

**Part II:**  
**Empirical Studies on Teaching Practicum**

*Adjustment to Teaching Practicum*

Three studies have been completed on the adjustment to the teaching practicum from a psychological viewpoint.

*Research 1: Adjustment to Daily Life During the Teaching Practicum*

The main purpose of this study was to examine the structures and the processes of adjustment to the teaching practicum. For this purpose, nine fourth-grade female students participated in the investigation conducted nine times during the 6-week practicum.

*Factors of adjustment.* As shown in Table 1, adjustment to the teaching practicum was measured by 12 items. Factor analysis on these items revealed 4 significant factors.

Factor I, "adjustment to daily life," includes items such as "I enjoy studies and research at the elementary school" and "I don't have the

**Table 1**  
*Factors of Adjustment to Teaching Practicum*

Items	Factor Score of Items			
	I	II	III	IV
<b>I. Adjust to Daily Life</b>				
I enjoy studies at the elementary school	.82			
I don't have confidence to get good results	-.79			
I don't have confidence in my ability	-.77			
My activities are restricted	-.60			
<b>II. Adjust to Rules</b>				
I can't easily talk to other teachers	-.88			
I feel embarrassed when I am called teacher	-.69			
I am having trouble with the teaching practicum	-.63	-.57		
I can't keep up with the timetable	-.60			-.41
<b>III. Adjust to Teaching</b>				
I am having trouble with the preparation of lessons		-.84		
It is difficult for me to write teaching plans	-.42		-.77	
<b>IV. Adjustment to Interpersonal Relationships</b>				
I am not getting on well with other students				-.82
I don't want to keep company with children	-.41			-.70

self-confidence to get expected results." Factor II, "adjustment to rules," includes items such as "I can't talk to other teachers" and "I feel embarrassment when I am called teacher." Factor III, "adjustment to teaching," includes items such as "I am having trouble with the preparation of lessons" and "it is difficult for me to write teaching plans." Factor IV, "adjustment to interpersonal relationship," includes items such as "I am not getting on well in relationships to other students" and "I don't want to keep company with children."

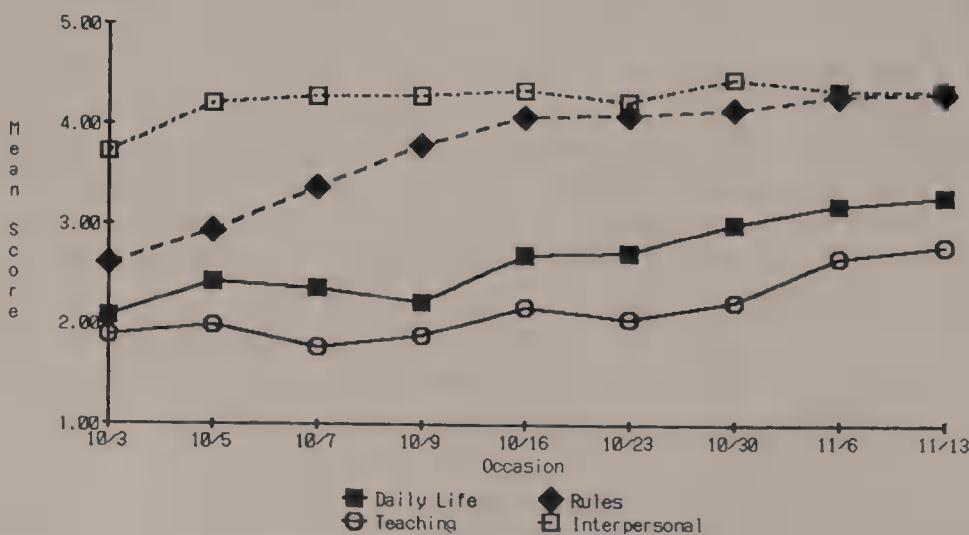
*Changes in each factor.* Figure 1 shows changes in each of four adjustment factors. As shown in Figure 1, the adjustment to interpersonal relationships occurred first, then, about 2 weeks after the teaching practicum, students adjusted to the rules of school. Adjustments to teaching and daily life, that were directly related to the purpose of teaching practicum, occurred gradually.

As Figure 2 shows, the desire to become a teacher and the self-estimation of their teacher aptitude increased during the last 2 weeks.

#### *Research 2: Effects of Anxiety on Adjustment to Teaching Practicum*

The main purpose of this study was to examine the effects of anxiety on adjustment to the teaching practicum. For this purpose, 32 fourth-grade education students participated in the investigation, conducted eight times during a 4-week practicum.

*Type of anxiety.* Before the teaching practicum, students were questioned about anxieties or expectations they had about the teaching



*Figure 1. Changes in adjustment.*

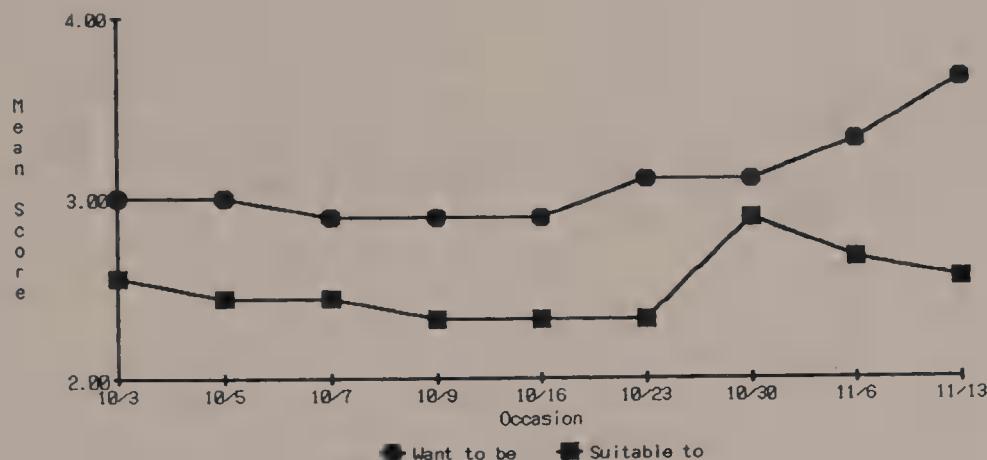


Figure 2. Changes in desire to be a teacher.

practicum. As shown in Table 2, there seemed to be three categories. Anxieties, but not expectations, were frequently noted by students.

*Effects of anxiety on adjustment.* Figure 3 shows changes in adjustment to the teaching practicum. The students who have anxieties about daily life felt more embarrassment than those who didn't have anxieties when they were called "teacher." It seemed interesting that anxiety about daily life, which wasn't directly related to teaching or the teaching practicum, affected the adjustment to school rules that were directly related to the teaching practicum. Anxieties about the teaching practicum also affected adjustment to teaching ("The high anxiety group felt they had more difficulties in writing teaching plans").

In this study, as shown in Figure 4, it was found that students' desire for becoming teachers decreased over time. This result seemed different from that of study 1 which showed that the desire for becoming a teacher increased during the last 2 weeks of the 6-week teaching practicum. The additional 2 weeks in the first study may have led to this result. We need further research on this difference.

Table 2  
Anxiety and Expectancy to Teaching Practicum

Categories	Frequency
Anxiety about daily life during practicum	16
Expectancy about daily life during practicum	3
Anxiety about teaching	26

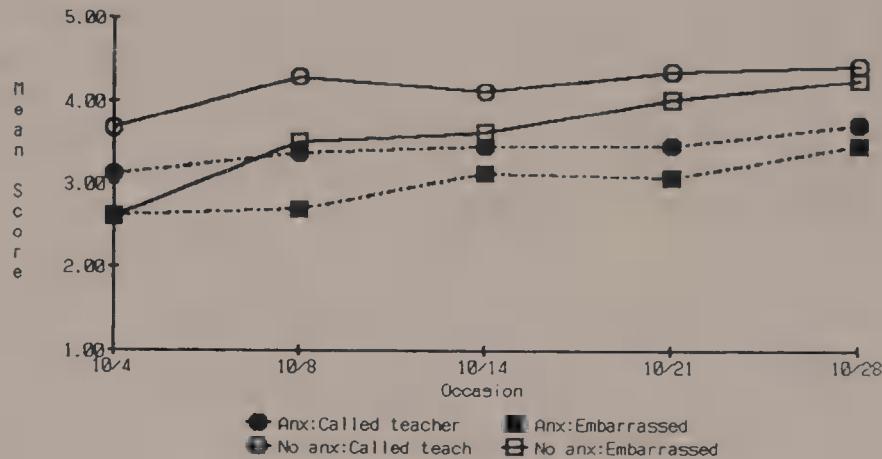


Figure 3. Effects of anxiety on adjustment.

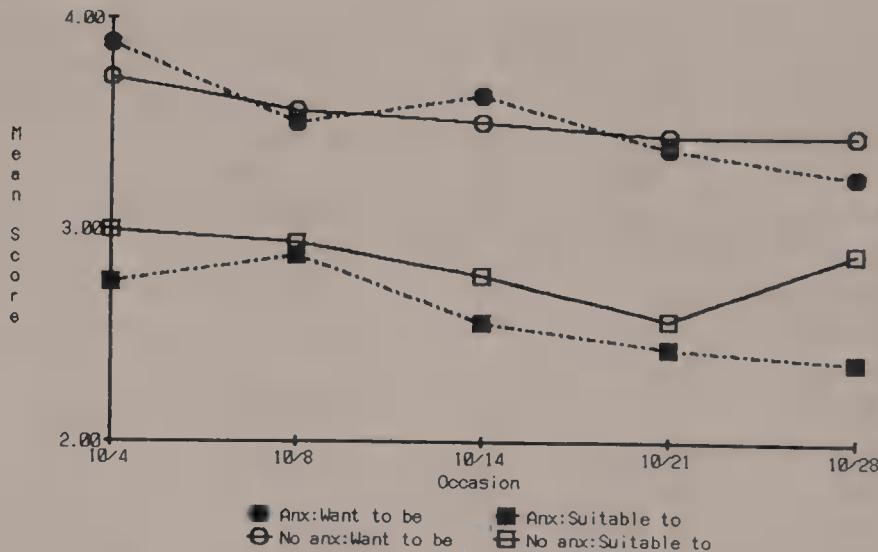


Figure 4. Effects of anxiety on desire to be teacher.

### Research 3: Effects of Lodging on Adjustment

Some of the anxieties seen in research 2 were related to lodging during the teaching practicum. There are two type of lodging in our teaching practicum program: (a) staying at a dormitory (dormitory group) and (b) coming from their homes (commuter group). In this research, the effects of lodging on adjustment to teaching practicum were examined. (Four-

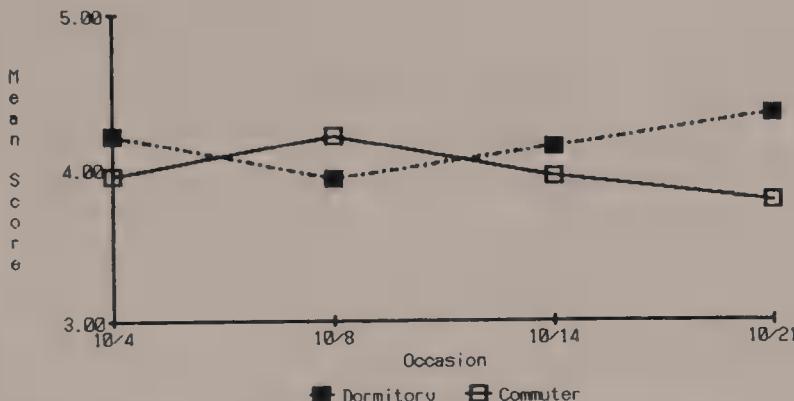


Figure 5. Effects of lodging on item "write teaching plan."

teen boarding students and 19 commuters participated in this survey for 3 weeks.)

As shown in Figure 5, at the beginning of the teaching practicum there was no difference between the two types of lodging in answers to the item "It is difficult for me to write teaching plans," which was one of the items included in the factor of "*adjustment to teaching*." But after 3 weeks, the dormitory group showed more adjustment than commuters and felt less difficulty in writing teaching plans.

Compared with the experiences of commuters, the dormitory group experienced more critical transition problems: They had to cope with a new room, new relationships with roommates, less privacy, and other daily events. In the short term, these burdens of transition disrupted their adjustment to the teaching practicum. But in the long term, they could concentrate on the teaching practicum because they were far from their usual daily life during the practicum, whereas the commuter did not experience a transition and could not separate the new daily life during the practicum from the old daily life.

### Teacher Aptitudes

In the previous three studies, the teaching practicum was investigated from the viewpoint of psychological adjustment. It also seems necessary to investigate how and what kind of teaching skills and teacher aptitudes would be acquired through the teaching practicum. A preliminary study was begun on this problem.

For this purpose, 86 third-grade and 29 fourth-grade education students who were attending a 1-week teaching practicum participated in this research.

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Table 3  
*Factors of Teaching Skills*

Skills	I	II	III	IV	V
I. Lesson and Material Analysis					
Writing teaching plans	.80				
Studying teaching materials	.74				
Analysis of lessons	.73				
Knowledge on each subject	.59			.41	
Usage of blackboard	.58				
II. Explanation					
Way of explaining or talking	.83				
Way of asking	.82				
Understanding children	.74				
Praising, scolding	.65				
III. Extracurricula Activities					
Guidance of students' congress	.79				
Class management	.68				
Activities of PTA	.67				
Extracurricula activities	.61				
Educational evaluation	.43	.45			
IV. Knowledge of Psychology					
Ideal of education	.76				
Psychology of instruction	.64				
Guidance of children in trouble	.63				
Basic attitudes as a teacher	.63				
V. School Administration					
School organization					.70
Usage of teaching equipment				.41	.63
Usage of teaching materials and tools			.42		.58
Manners as a teacher					.57
Guidance of school lunch					.48

*Teaching Skills*

As shown in Table 3, 23 items on teaching skills were used. Factor analysis found five significant factors. Factor I, "lesson and material analysis," includes items like "writing teaching plans" and "studying teaching materials." Factor II, "explanation," includes items like "way of explaining or talking" and "way of asking." Factor III, "extra-curricula activities," includes items like "guidance of students' congress" and "class management." Factor IV, "knowledge of psychology," includes items like "ideal of education" and "psychology of instruction." Factor V, "school administra-

tion," includes items like "school organization" and "usage of teaching equipment."

Table 4 shows differences between expectancy and actual acquisition in each factor. Factors I, III, and V, which were difficult to acquire through observation practicum, were acquired less than expected.

**Table 4**  
*Expectancy and Real Acquisition of Each Teaching Skill*

<i>Skill Factors</i>	<i>Expectancy</i>	<i>Acquisition</i>
I. Lesson and material analysis	3.11	2.64
II. Explanation	3.73	3.85
III. Extracurricula activities	2.78	2.28
IV. Knowledge of psychology	2.93	3.06
V. School administration	3.55	3.33

### *Teacher Aptitudes*

As shown in Table 5, 43 items on teacher aptitudes were used. Factor analysis found four significant factors. Factor I, "office work abilities," includes items such as "speaks fluently" and "has abilities to handle the office work." Factor II, "careful considerations," includes items such as "be impartial" and "not too sharp-tongued." Factor III, "eagerness for education," includes items such as "has strong curiosity" and "eager to do anything." Factor IV, "practical leadership," includes items such as "reliable" and "motivated to teach."

**Table 5**  
*Factors of Teacher Aptitudes*

<i>Items</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>
I. Office Work Abilities				
Speaks fluently	.68			
Has abilities to handle the office work	.64			
Finishes work quickly	.64			
Strict	.63			
Uses computer or word processor	.62			
Has good hobbies	.55			.46
Neat and clean	.55			
Writes readable character	.48			
Adaptable	.57			
Calm	.47			

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Table 5 continued

Items	I	II	III	IV
II. Careful Considerations				
Impartial		.74		
Not too sharp-tongued		.67		
Not prejudiced		.66	.43	
Suppresses emotions	.45	.59		
Fair for all children		.58		
Make distinctions		.57		
Teaches plainly		.56		.44
Talks plainly	.47	.55		
Doesn't have a "double-dealing" personality		.52		
Loves children		.50	.46	
Observes children firmly		.44		.42
Creative and original		.43		
III. Eagerness for Education				
Has strong curiosity		.67		
Eager to do anything		.55	.47	
Considers well		.54		
Healthy and strong		.53		
Diligent		.52		
Understands parents' feelings		.51		
Thinks of teaching as one's mission		.45		
Interested in various things		.43		
Has own belief		.42		
IV. Practical Leadership				
Reliable		.65		
Motivated to teach		.62		
Leadership		.61		
Management	.45	.53		
Works carefully		.52		
Thoughtful		.52		
Knows child psychology		.49		
Contrives in classes		.42		
Has sense of humor	.41	.42		

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# Attracting and Preparing Worthy Teachers

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*Mankichi Shiina*

*Mitsuo Chonan*

## Introduction

Long ago in Japan it was said that "education depends on the person teaching." The first Minister of Education, Science, and Culture, Arinori Mori (1847-1889) said in a famous speech: "Unless a school has appropriate people as teachers, even if it has the necessary funds or equipment, compulsory education will not be successful." These words suggest that "worthy education" becomes possible only with the presence of "worthy teachers."

In all nations, it continues to be in the interest of both the government and the individuals involved in the educational field to welcome worthy teachers into the educational field, in particular for compulsory education (elementary and junior high school). Three general issues need to be addressed in achieving this goal. First, there is the need to improve teacher salaries. Second, there is a call to nurture the teachers' strength so that they use their full potential. Third, there is the need to expand and systemize teacher training in order to upgrade their competence. These issues will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

## Teacher Salaries

First, teacher salaries need to be improved. There have been changes in the number of people who want to become teachers, especially among

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those who want to teach at the compulsory education levels. When industries offered higher level salaries due to good economic conditions, teachers salaries did not necessarily correspond. There is concern in the educational field as to whether or not people with outstanding potential will continue to want to be teachers.

Measures were taken to respond to this concern in 1974. This was called the "Law Governing Special Measures for Securing Capable Educational Personnel in Compulsory Education Schools for the Maintenance and Enhancement of School Education Standards." It focused a great deal of attention on salary levels. Reformation has continued since then. For example, as of April of 1991, the starting salary of a national teacher is lower than that paid to a local school teacher in C-Prefecture (see Table 1 in the Appendix to this issue). Yet, the amount is higher than the amount paid to a general employee at a government office. This difference has changed little over 10 years. It should be noted that there is no overtime pay for teachers, unlike that available for a general employee at a government office, and teachers may have long days.

If a comparison is made between a government worker and a private corporation employee, the latter often receives a higher starting salary than a civil service worker. Yet, civil service workers are prohibited from going on strike. Although some alleviation is provided through the National Personnel Authority to make official recommendations (salary improvement such as increasing the starting base level) to both the government and to the Diet, this is only when the average difference of the salary paid to civil service workers and private business workers exceeds four percent. This gap remains and even appears to be growing, a reflection of today's economic conditions and the shortage of workers for private sector jobs.

### **Strengthening Teacher Preparation**

Second, improvements need to be made in order to prepare better teachers. University level teacher education was realized only after World War II with the enactment of educational reform.

The economic development and changes in society in recent years have greatly influenced the personal environment of the students. It is not surprising that differences in how student thought and appearance have developed are apparent. As an outcome, we see an increased number of children/students skipping school, sometimes misbehaving in a violent manner during school hours, and committing crimes. Within this same turbulent environment, there is also increasing pressure placed on them to succeed with their education, resulting in excessive

educational competition. Instead of assisting the children to grow, it harms their personalities by adding extra burdens. Social expectations about the quality and capability of teachers are becoming greater. While this is not new, we are in need of appropriate strategies.

Detailed strategies did not reach the government and other educational administrative authorities until after April, 1986. First there was a report delivered by the National Council on Educational Reform (an advisory organ for the prime minister during August, 1984 through August, 1987), the *Second Report on Education Reform* (1986). Another paper was later released entitled *Strategies to Improve Teacher Competence and Quality* (1987). This was completed by the Teacher Training Council from a question and answer briefing on the earlier report mentioned and its further investigation.

As further development, the Educational Personnel Certification Law (EPCL) was revised and released in December, 1988. Based on this law, improved teacher training began in April, 1990.

The goals of this law included nurturing "the basics for actual instruction," and developing an educational "sense of mission" together with "a wider field of knowledge." As can be observed in Tables 2 and 3 (see the Appendix to this issue), other disciplines with titles such as "subjects related to special activities" and "subjects related to student guidance" were added as the certification standard also was raised. Three separate certification types were established depending on educational background. The three levels are: 2nd class certificate for college graduates, 1st class certificate for university (bachelor level) graduates, and an advanced level for graduate school (master level) graduates.

### Expansion and Systemization of Teacher Training

Related to the third need for the expansion and systemization of teacher training, a proposal was made by the Central Council of Education (advisory organ for Minister of Education, Science, and Culture) in 1978 on the "Improvement of Quality and Competence of Teachers." This suggested inservice training of beginning teachers.

The proposal from the Central Council of Education (CCE) was in connection with training which was already taking place as mentioned in the reports from the National Council of Educational Reform, as well as by the Teacher Training Council (TTC) mentioned above. In other words, the reports included not only mention of "establishing inservice training of beginning teachers," but also further details. These included:

1. Establishment of various inservice training programs in connection with "daily educational matters conducted within any school."

2. "Planned and effective study/training" with "systematic maintenance" (the training being conducted on a long-term basis in a predetermined frequency such as after 5, 10, and 15 years).
3. To position "a master's degree obtained through graduate school into an appropriate location within the teacher training curriculum" together with using these new education graduate schools in the long-term study-leave training programs.
4. To propose rewards to teachers of excellence "with inservice training holidays, or inservice training leave."

All of the above were proposals which were directed to education-related administrative organs in connection with the further education of present teachers. Although the proposals themselves are of great importance, it should be noted that they were based on the following thoughts:

- It is good to consider further education for teachers as part of professionalism.
- Research conducted or efforts made by the teacher are important foundation blocks.
- Even within the same school, observation and discussion among teachers should be treated as important material from which to learn.

It is of great importance that teachers study their profession in an in-depth manner. This has been done before. Teachers have made efforts as individuals. Within schools, joint research groups have been formed—by grade, subject, or by all in a particular school. Observations of other teachers, classes for research, and newer teachers learning from the more experienced (and vice-versa) have been taking place. Mutual educational research, study, and training have been done in various forms. As explained above, placing an emphasis on "mutual inservice training systemization for education" that can be observed in individual schools is an important building block. When making a proposal on education, this is a factor that cannot be ignored. The mutual educational system of working teachers is of great importance for the continuation of study and learning.

In addition, other than the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture, various educational administrative organs have composed other programs to fulfill a similar role. In particular, the National Council on Educational Reform released its Second Report in 1986 stating its perspective of lifelong learning. Since its explanation of its proposal of "systemized maintenance of planned further education for teachers through the educational administrative organs infrastructure," such

plans have been increasing. The Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture suggests that education agencies could either plan, finance, and directly enact plans for further education for teachers "related to elementary and secondary school education" or entrust an educational administrative organ within the prefecture with implementation.

Other than the above program, matters of importance include new programs reflecting current trends. For example, every year there are several hundred people directed to graduate school master courses (a 2-year program). There are also new courses which reflect changes in society, like the education information management specialized teacher training course (basic course for 10 days duration, specialized course available for 40 days duration). The Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture splits educational inservice training into several areas. The divisions are "lifelong systemization learning for teachers," "improvement in guidance," "instructing students," "being sent aboard a training ship," "self-motivated activities," and "relating to other administrative officers" of the school. While some of these programs extend 6 days or more, there are others which are shorter.

Other than programs planned and carried out by the Central Ministry, some are carried out closer to the school territory. This includes the Prefectural and Local Boards of Education. For example, in 1991 the C Prefecture Board of Education, with the purpose of "raising teacher quality and competence," established 129 training programs of either long or short duration. The themes included "School Management and Administration," "Instruction on Subjects and Their Spheres," "Student Instruction," "School Administration," "Lifelong Learning and Social Education," and "Information Education." Within these themes, there is also a long-term program available each year for 50-60 persons which lasts over the entire year and allows teachers to become "research students" in a university. There are basically three means to apply to such programs: personal application, designation or recommendation from a school principal or education committee member, or test result selections combined with civil service official trips. Since 1990, participation in these study and training programs has made it possible to obtain higher levels of certification. The holder of a 2nd class certificate can obtain a 1st class certificate. The holder of a 1st class certificate can obtain an advanced class certificate.

Among the many programs to further education for teachers that are currently being closely watched is the program for "Beginning Teachers' Inservice Training Program."

## Beginning Teachers' Inservice Training System

### *The Start of the Beginning Teachers' Inservice Training System*

The 1-year long "beginning teachers' inservice training" has gone through many twists and turns during its first 2 years of testing. The new teachers in elementary schools became the first to experience this system in April of 1989 (the term lasting between April 1 to March 31 of the next year). It was further applied to other new teachers in the later years. By April of 1992, the system was applied to all other types of schools except for kindergarten, that is, elementary, junior, and senior high school, and other special schools (for blind, deaf, or handicapped children).

In 1972, the Teacher Training Council (TTC) released the *Reformation Strategy to Foster Improvement in Educational Instructors*. For the first time, the proposal was mentioned that "beginning teachers should have a goal during their first year of inservice training. This should best be done by a systemized and planned program while the teacher is on a trial basis." Yet, the report submitted by the Central Council for Education (CCE) in 1978 mentions the need for "improvement in teacher training and the degree licensing system." The same need is mentioned again in a report submitted by the TTC in 1983. In addition, the Second Report of the National Council on Educational Reform (1986) stated the following about the start of the beginning teachers' inservice training system:

The inservice training will take place at the commencement of teaching. It is vitally important that it assist the newly-appointed teacher to enter new fields of teaching. For this purpose, efforts will be made to cultivate actual leadership and a sense of mission for the newly-appointed teachers in national and public elementary, junior, and senior high school as well as at the special schools. In addition, in order to hold a wide perspective, the following position will be used to introduce the beginning teachers to the inservice training system. Concrete plans will be examined immediately.

A. During one single year after commencement for newly-appointed teachers, the teaching activities will take place under the guidance of another experienced teacher. At the same time, other types of training will also be an obligation of the employer.

Leadership for the implementation of this inservice training system for beginning teachers will be provided by the school principal. It is essential that the entire school establish a cooperative instructive system.

B. The following arrangements will be made at the school where the

new teacher is placed in order to make an appropriate training environment: A particular teacher will be selected as the instructor for the newcomer; in addition, one person will be placed in charge of overall training within each of prefectures.

C. The probational period for the new teachers will be extended from 6 months to a full year. (pp. 74-75)

These provisions reflect the fundamental goals for the beginning teacher training system. They derive from the history of this training system, the concern that confrontational settings for students be avoided, and a belief that strong expectations should be held for teachers and schools. Despite its shortcomings, it was believed to match the decisions made by the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture. Thus, various groups related to education gave it their full or conditional consent and few criticized the proposal.

#### *The Testing and Introduction of the Beginning Teacher Inservice Training System*

With the above background and the Second Report from the National Council on Educational Reform (1986), the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture launched the "Education Reformation Entrusted Research Operation" in 1986. Research was entrusted to 15 prefectures. A trial run was to be conducted in 1987 and 1988.

The following four suggestions were made by the entrusted groups regarding the "Trial Run for the Beginning Teachers' Inservice Training":

1. Guidance from a teacher within the school (training about 2 days per week at the school—a total of about 70 days per year)
2. Training at an education center (training about 1 day per week outside the school—a total of about 35 days per year)
3. Overnight training (4 nights, 5 days)
4. Training sponsored by the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture on ships.

The following precautions were taken by the entrusted educational organs upon the enactment of the trial run. First, there was the establishment of the "Committee to Implement the Trial Run." One part-time instructor was assigned at schools with only one new teacher. For schools with two or more new teachers assigned, a full-time teacher was also assigned. The training for the newly appointed teachers broadly included education-related law, the attitude to be held by a worthy teacher from an official standpoint, study guidance, class management, understanding of children and students, student guidance, guidelines

as a civil servant, work division within the school, practice, as well as mock-class observation and trial teachings. It also included observations of other types of schools, juvenile educational facilities, and welfare facilities open to children, as well as civil enterprises.

The 2-year period for the trial run was extremely short. Yet, the results indicated many themes which need to be pursued further. These included: how to deal with the duplication of content with university study and the training itself, how to strengthen the cooperative system within schools, how to secure part-time instructors in emergency cases, and how to replace teachers when absent due to out-of-school training. It also indicated the need to expand the capacity of facilities at the Educational Center, as well as increased instruction and responsibilities for the person in charge of the inservice training. Nonetheless, despite some corrections, no basic guidelines were redrawn. Some laws were revised (including the Law for Special Regulations Concerning Educational Public Service Personnel, and the Law Concerning Organization and Function of Local Education Administration). Plans were for the full implementation of the "Beginning Teacher Inservice Training System" in 1989, for all types of schools and for all beginning teachers, but this did not occur because of financial circumstances.

#### *Purpose and Objective for Beginning Teachers' Inservice Training*

The Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture acts as the central body to provide guidance and advice regarding education. When the training system was implemented, the Ministry formed several models to fulfill its role. This included a "Model Summarizing the Implementation of the 'Beginning Teacher Inservice Training'" (1991c) for all prefectures," a "Summarizing Model" (1991d) for designated cities, and an "Example List for Training on an Annual Basis" (1991b) as it had previously for the trial run. These were used as references to arrange annual training plans, as well as to stimulate discussions on general problems. The "Beginning Teacher Inservice Training Implementation Committee" was also established to help find solutions for the previously mentioned problems.

The prefectures (prefectural board of education) and designated cities (designated city board of education) were expected to develop "training system implementation basic outlines" and "annual plans for the training system's implementation." The local boards of Education and schools in each city (excluding the designated ones), as well as towns and villages with beginning teachers, were also expected to complete similar "beginning teacher inservice training annual plans" based on the

"basic outline" provided by the prefectural Board of Education as well as an "annual guidance plan for the beginning teacher."

According to the Ministry's "Basic Outline for the Beginning Teacher Training Implementation" (1991a), the basic purposes were similar to those for the trial run. The second section of the 20th article in the Law for Special Regulations Concerning Educational Public Service Personnel mentions the start of teaching and "the actuation of the year-long training as a start in this profession. The purpose is to foster leadership, a sense of mission, and a wider perspective regarding educational and societal surroundings." In other words, this training is to enhance the quality and competence of basic professional knowledge acquired during university education, and to further stimulate the pursuit of additional knowledge through actual practice. In addition, due to the wide gap between knowledge and experience, this period acts to help bridge the difference. This training is now in place for all newly appointed teachers (i.e., beginning teachers) for all years of schooling, excluding only kindergarten.

#### *Content of the Beginning Teacher Inservice Training*

Fundamentally, a beginning teacher is assigned either a particular class or a school subject, as are other experienced teachers. Yet, their class hours and teaching responsibilities are somewhat reduced. This is to allow both new experiences in teaching and other aspects of the inservice training.

The titles used to describe the content in this training are similar to the pre-conducted trial runs. It includes "in-school inservice training," "inservice training outside the school," "overnight stay inservice training," and "study aboard ships" (for those recommended by Prefectural and Designated City Educational Committees, i.e., Board of Education).

In the in-school training portion, there is "training based on guidance and advice from other teachers within the school." The core of this is planned by the school principal, based on the "Annual Training Plans of the Prefecture and the Local Board of Education" with consideration given to the teachers and other conditions of the school. The teacher providing guidance is also expected to participate. The plan is guided by the "Basic Outline for the Beginning Teacher Training Implementation" from the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture which was changed somewhat from the trial-run period, together with opinions of the Educational Committee. The number of days for training is reduced from the original "70 days per year" to about "2 days per week and a minimum of 60 days per year." (Further details regarding the train-

ing schedule for each term in the year can be observed in Table 5.1 and Table 5.2 in the Appendix to this issue.)

The Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture created six divisions for elementary and junior high school teachers. These consisted of "Basic Knowledge," "Classroom Management," "Subject Guidance," "Moral Education," "Special Activities," and "Student Guidance." In the case of senior high school teachers, five divisions were made, excluding "Moral Education." Although a general perspective is maintained during the student-teacher trial teaching period, greater selectivity takes place in this inservice period.

Changes were also made in the inservice training outside of the school compared to the pre-conducted trial run. The original number of "about 35 days per year" was reduced to "about 1 day per week or a minimum of 30 days per year."

Guidance and advice from more experienced teachers is offered on concrete daily activities and actions within the in-school training. Guidance and advice is offered on more fundamental and theoretical perspectives in the out-of-school training. This is further supplemented through visits to special research schools, as well as inspection visits to other social facilities and companies.

"Overnight stay inservice training" is designated to take place over 4 nights and 5 days. It is generally implemented as part of the inservice training out-of-school. It is used to discuss problems involving education and other group activities.

Approximately 10 days are used in the "study aboard ships" training program. The ship makes stops at various ports throughout the country. Use of a specific program allows lectures and discussions to be conducted on-board the ship. The time shared on the ship provides a good opportunity for mutual learning. Unfortunately, the number of participants are limited. Only 50-60 persons from each prefecture are able to participate each year.

#### *Actual Cases in Reference to the Beginning Teachers' Inservice Training*

*N Prefecture.* N Prefecture is well known for its history and tradition in teacher inservice training. Several unique aspects can be easily observed. First of all, the Prefectural Board of Education maintains the following basic concepts held towards the implementation of beginning teachers' inservice training system:

1. Place importance on the will of the individual to undertake research by assisting and encouraging self-motivated study and learning.

2. Let the individual develop pleasure in the position involved in teaching, to feel faith and confidence toward education, and the volition to put effort into the practice teaching.
3. The guidance and understanding needs to be based on a careful selection of fundamental factors.
4. Avoid having only one teacher in charge, the entire school should be involved.

The beginning teachers' inservice training manual (later referred to as the BTT-system) in N Prefecture was almost identical with the "Example List for Training on an Annual Basis" released by the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture. When H Elementary School was visited in 1989, the above mentioned "basic concepts" were in practice and the development of a promising BTT-system was observed. Even previously, the attitude taken towards the training system had been to further nurture "faith and confidence in education" among the newly appointed teachers.

At this particular school, only one beginning teacher had been appointed. Fortunately, this beginning teacher was placed under the guidance of the teacher who was the grade's head supervisor. Other than the fact that the supervising teacher had excellent skills in guidance, the fact that their students were in the same grade allowed several elements to be shared, such as subject contents, and annual events. This made topics and problems easier to relay to one another and the provision of guidance much easier.

Multiple sources were used by the principal for the completion of the "H Elementary School's Annual Guidance Plan." This included the Prefectural Board of Education's manual for "Annual Plans for BTT-System (elementary school)." The outcome included "consideration toward the teachers' association and the condition of the school within its own district. Thorough communication with the teacher providing guidance for the beginning teacher also took place."

The item list for training was detailed. In-school training took place each Tuesday and Friday. Detailed plans and methodology were provided by the appointed teacher in charge. Training also took place on Monday and Friday. Monday was commonly used by all teachers for self-motivated research. Subject meetings also took place this day. Grade meetings took place on Friday. In this way, the beginning teacher received advice and guidance not only from a particular teacher, but also from the principal, and the vice principal. Other teachers were acquainted through teaching in the same grade or a particular subject. In

other words, all teachers of the school were meeting this beginning teacher, participating in the training and nurturing in some way.

As only one beginning teacher was assigned to the school, only one teacher was assigned as a part-time teacher, who happened to be a former teacher of that school. The teacher supervised the class during the beginning teacher's absence due to his out-of-school training and inspection visits to other facilities, so that his school hours amounted to about 14 hours a week.

Two beginning teachers were appointed at J Elementary school so the regular staff was increased by one. The teacher providing guidance to the beginning teachers was a veteran with 29 years of experience. One of the beginning teachers was assigned to the class previously under the charge of the guidance teacher. A particular characteristic of this school was how the entire school considered actual practice to be the central core of any type of training. Thus, when the BTT-system was adopted it was put into practice with the support of the entire school.

A beginning teacher mentioned the following to us at the time of our visitation:

Whenever I interact with the children there's no choice but to make decisions on one's own and act immediately. It influences the children greatly. This can be easily felt. In addition, despite the fact that the overall situation has to be grasped, all of the children have their own personalities. It is a great challenge to instruct them. My goal is to learn to give meaningful lessons and to learn how to take charge of the management of the class. My attitude at the moment is quite straightforward. What I feel quite strongly is how university classes leaned strongly towards theory. My current situation is real and challenging.

There was also the following comment: "I have learned much from the children. Interaction with them has taught me a great deal. Perhaps this is one of the most important elements of my inservice teaching."

The guidance teacher left the following record regarding this particular beginning teacher: "Detailed records are made daily of the actions taken by the children. Efforts to understand them as individuals are apparent. The accumulation of effort to provide better guidance is also apparent."

Regarding out-of-school training, it is apparent that N Prefecture lacks locations where beginning teachers can gather. It also lacks teachers to provide their guidance. Yet, its Prefectural Board of Education has a long history. This is backed by an active group of principals within the Prefecture. Out-of-school training is varied. The 30 days a year are allocated

in the following manner: 13 days at the four educational offices in the Prefecture (Prefectural Education Board, Regional Branches), 12 days at one of the 16 local Boards of Education, and 5 days at one of the District Principal's Meetings (similarly at 16 locations).

The local Boards of Education's program allows the coverage of a wide range of topics. It allows beginning teachers to grasp the general idea of various items such as: in-school research-classes and research-discussions, visitation to other types of schools together with research discussion, Dowa-educational problems (educational problems for children who are discriminated against), and discussions about education with veteran teachers. Training through the four educational offices includes: role play in school education, counseling, student guidance, training in curriculum particularly in elementary and junior high school, volunteer training, as well as overnight training. Training at the District Principal's Meetings involves visitation to educational institutions and businesses, cultural and educational lectures, and observation of classes at designated research schools, as well as computer courses.

Little time was allotted for lectures in this out-of-school training system. The activities matched the purpose of the program to widen the perspectives of the beginning teachers and to increase their experiences. The variety included both formal and informal situations. The beginning teachers were able to gather at times to discuss their problems, exchange information, or even encourage one another.

As for the onboard ship training, participation requests come from various prefectures from almost everyone. Unfortunately, even for major cities, only two or three are able to participate. This is already acknowledged as a difficult problem to resolve. Although the Prefectural Board of Education makes the recommendations of who will participate, this makes no change in the great number of requests to participate. A common opinion is: "If it is conducted at all, it would be best if all could participate."

*K Prefecture.* In most prefectures the Board of Education takes charge of beginning teacher inservice training (other than the training aboard a ship which is conducted by the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture). Yet, this does not take place in this K Prefecture. Most of the BTT-system (both in-school and out-of-school training) is conducted through a General Educational Center. It both plans and provides training in cooperation with related institutions.

Although the basic guidelines provided by the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture are followed, extra measures are being taken. For example, beginning teachers are restricted to a maximum number in a particular school. Excluding a single school, others had only two or less

in 1990. This is to avoid administrative difficulties in the schools with the BTT-system.

Regarding the composition of in-school training for the BTT-system, reference was made to the "Example List for Training on an Annual Basis" by the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture. Yet, the six given areas in the list were expanded to seven. These were:

1. current conditions of the school,
2. stages in education and educational activities,
3. guidance for students and educational discussion,
4. classroom and homeroom management,
5. class research,
6. research about teaching material, and
7. reflecting upon classroom research and outlooks.

It reached a total of 49 items among the seven areas and 60 discussion topics. Additionally, to "better grasp the beginning teacher's level but also to avoid over-burdening the guidance teacher," training was planned to take place within the working time alone.

Reference was also made to the Ministry's "Example List for Training on an Annual Basis" for out-of-school training. The six areas were expanded to 17, and involved 31 days. It included:

3 days of early-term overnight training, 3 days of latter-term overnight training, subject education, experimental and actual trial teaching, class teaching with visitors, moral education, special activities, health education, guidance for students, Dowa-educational programs, school visitation, school education discussions, education concerning information, and others.

A major difference for beginning teachers in K Prefecture was that they are all gathered together for the out-of-school training at the same General Educational Center. The original concept held by the Board of Education was to provide all the beginner teachers with the same training procedures and settings. Unfortunately, there seems to be great difficulty in accomplishing this.

#### **Themes to be Pursued**

As is already apparent, great efforts are being made to improve the system. The respect taken towards the attitude for "lifelong learning" and "study and research throughout life" is great. Yet many problems remain. A general list of the unresolved problems follows:

1. Problems remain in what is being taught in the universities to students who are about to become teachers. There is a great gap between university programs and what is needed in practice (trial-run) teaching. Much adjustment is needed. Steps need to be made to make university programs closer to the content of BTT. It is not uniqueness but greater continuity that is needed. Discussion of this issue has been taking place for several years between Prefectural Boards of Education and the universities located in their areas. The Prefectural Contacting Discussion Group to Improve the Quality of Teachers and similar groups have been formed in five regions throughout the nation. It is hoped that some action will take place following their discussions.

2. The BTT-system described above is aimed at helping shape good practices for the beginning teacher. From the reflection and general judgments that take place at this stage of teaching, it is hoped that this will lead to future challenges. If this takes place, it can truly be said to be a good result of the system. However, in order for this to occur, improvement needs to take place in both the surroundings and those who provide the guidance. Otherwise, it will not be possible.

3. Many have already indicated that a major component of success for the in-school training is to secure a good teacher to provide guidance for the beginning teacher. Securing a good teacher (or a part-time teacher) to supervise students during the beginning teachers' absence is also needed. Time is another important factor which must be available for both training and for guidance.

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# Clinical Education and the Role of Attached Schools in Preservice Teacher Education

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*Masaaki Hayo*

## Introduction

Clinical education of beginning teachers has been regarded as essential for the professional preparation of the teaching profession. Reflecting such a consideration, many countries have adopted the practice of incorporating student teaching as one of the required credits of professional subjects in the preservice stage. In order to make it easy to realize this intention, many countries have established schools attached to teacher training colleges as the place for student teaching. Japan is no exception.

But these attached schools have various problems due to the definition of their role—the place of clinical education on the one hand, and the place of schooling itself on the other. The conflict of these roles has occurred frequently. From the former standpoint, attached schools have been regarded as practice schools or training schools. From the latter standpoint, they are regarded as model schools. In order to resolve this conflict, the definition of attached schools as laboratory or demonstration schools has been adopted.

But this solution is not a perfect one. Even if we regard attached schools as laboratory schools, the difference of the viewpoints between the attached school teachers and the teachers college professors remains. School teachers would regard their schools above all as the place of schooling for pupils, and would like to improve the quality of schooling and the evaluation of their schools by the public. On the other hand, teachers college professors would regard their attached schools as their

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tools for student teaching and their study on curriculum improvement, the teaching-learning process, classroom management, and so on.

If we wish to solve the problems concerning the way attached schools are organized, we must inquire about the various aspects of the attached schools, including the organizational relationships between these schools and universities. With this concern in mind, the history of attached schools and their present condition in Japan is described, followed by suggestions on how the place of the clinical education for beginning teachers should be reformed.

### The Present Status of Attached Schools in Japan

The attached schools of national universities in Japan have their origin in the attached schools of normal schools, which were organized in the Meiji era beginning in 1868. This era was the starting point of the national public school system in Japan. Parallel with the establishment of the national public system, national normal schools and prefectural normal schools were organized to meet the demand for teachers.

After World War II, all the normal schools were abolished and re-

Table 1

*Number of Attached Schools of National Universities (as of May 1, 1989)*

Category	Number of Schools
Kindergarten	48
Elementary	
Normal Class	73
Class for the Handicapped	(8)
Combined Class	(8)
Class for the Returning Child	(6)
Junior High	
Normal Class	78
Class for the Handicapped	(8)
Class for the Returning Child	(5)
Senior High	
General High	13
Vocational High	4
Class for the Returning Pupils	(1)
Special Schools	
Schools for the Blind	1
Schools for the Deaf	1
Schools for the Mentally Handicapped	42
TOTAL	260

organized as national teachers colleges or teacher training faculties of national universities (with the exception of four national normal schools which were reorganized as research oriented universities of education). Parallel with this reform, all the attached schools or prefectural normal schools were reorganized as those of teacher training colleges or faculties. The present organizational pattern of attached schools reflects this history. The current number and varieties of attached schools of national universities are shown in Table 1.

The present purpose and character of attached schools of national universities is determined by Article 27 of the Ministerial Order Concerning the Law of Establishment of National Universities and Schools which states that "attached schools should cooperate with the universities or faculties in which they are organized so as to carry out studies on schooling and are responsible for the practice of student teaching under the guidance of the universities or faculties in which they are organized." This Order was issued in 1984 and determines the situation and problem in which attached schools have been placed.

In connection with the role of the attached schools as the place of the clinical education of beginning teachers, their reputation as prestigious and selective schools has drawn much concern and criticism from the public. Table 2 depicts how admission to the attached schools is determined.

Table 2

*Way of Admission to Attached Schools in the Case of Junior and Senior Highs (as of May 1, 1989)*

Category	Junior High	Senior High
<b>Including Lottery</b>		
Lottery after Achievement Tests	52	
Lottery after Interview, etc.	6	
Achievement Test after Lottery	17	1
Lottery Only	1	
Total	76	1
<b>No Lottery</b>		
Achievement Test Only	2	16
From Lower Attached School		
Automatically		2
Total	2	18
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>19</b>

### The History of Attached Schools

As was mentioned earlier, the history of attached schools in Japan goes back to the beginning of the Meiji era in 1868. This parallels the formation of modern public schools. Attached schools had been part of normal school organization, so in order to trace their origin we need to know about the history of normal schools. The antecedents of Tokyo Gakugei University are briefly described here. Our university was organized by integrating four normal schools established by the Tokyo government. The first one was established as a Normal School for Elementary School Teachers in 1876. Following the end of World War II, all the normal schools were abolished and reorganized as one integrated teacher-training college. In this process, our university was born.

The history of attached schools has followed the history of these normal schools. Especially in the pre-war types of attached schools in Japan, three categories could be identified: (a) practice schools, (b) model schools, and (c) demonstration or laboratory schools. Among these three types, the model school had been emphasized most. After World War II, attached schools were reorganized, and their formal character was changed to the practice schools we now have. The image of attached schools as model schools has been retained, however, and this is the reason why they function informally as prestigious and selective schools.

### The Future of Attached Schools as the Place of Clinical Education

The attached schools in Japan have some problems that need to be solved in order to reorganize the place of clinical education. Movement to such a reform is slow and gradual. The current situation is illustrated through the case of Tokyo Gakugei University.

Since our attached schools have their antecedents in the attached schools of four different normal schools, their campuses are dispersed in different places in Tokyo. In order to utilize this geographic condition effectively, the future plans of our attached schools have been made independently and are characteristic of each place. The future plans of two of the schools are described below.

In the Takehaya area of Tokyo, the reorganization of the attached school has led to a focus on the study of kindergarten and its relationship to elementary school education. This has resulted, thus far, in appropriate curriculum development and the reconstruction of the school building. The attached school in the Ohizuma area of Tokyo is in the early planning stages of reorganizing to establish a school for international education.

Since our attached schools are located in four different areas in Tokyo, it is useful for each school to independently reorganize in order to reflect its character and utilize its location effectively. On the other hand, however, attached schools also have the role of educating beginning teachers clinically. From this aspect, the future plans for the attached schools are not satisfactory for teacher educators because they do not include plans for the clinical education of beginning teachers.

We need to restructure the role of attached schools within teacher training colleges or faculties and within the local school systems. This should include the abolition of "national" attached schools in order to create real clinical schools. Administrative restructuring is also essential for the reform of our attached schools.

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# Teacher Training in the Research University: A Survey of Teachers' Opinions

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## The Purpose of This Article

Teacher training in Japan is provided not only by teacher training universities or departments, but also by general universities. General universities play a very important role in terms of the number of teachers they educate. In 1987, for example, the ratio of newly employed public school teachers that graduated from general universities was 27.1% (primary school), 51.2% (junior high school), and 76% (senior high school). In this article we consider the teacher education program in a research university, that is, a general university with graduate schools. Kyoto University is a typical research university with nine departments, nine graduate schools, and 13 attached research institutes. A survey was conducted in December, 1988, of the opinions of Kyoto University alumni who are presently public school teachers about their teacher education program in order to increase the understanding of teacher education programs in a research university. A questionnaire was mailed to 1,272 teachers; the number of responses was 510 (40%).

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The breakdown of the academic careers of the responding teachers was as follows: undergraduate degrees 86.3%, graduate degrees 12.7%, others 1%. The percentages of their place of employment were 1.4% (primary school), 5.3% (junior high school), 83.5% (senior high school), and 0.8% (others).

If a research university is composed of a number of departments, as is Kyoto University, it can provide some advantages from the perspective of teacher education. First, it can provide students with a high level of knowledge and skill in each specialty. Second, it can give students opportunities to experience specialties other than their own. These opportunities are useful in helping students gain an extensive knowledge of human beings and society. As our survey results show, expertise in one's specialty and a broad understanding of human beings are considered by the teachers surveyed as the most important abilities that teachers should have. Third, the advantage that research universities have in terms of teacher education programs will be found in the fact that they can educate a large number of teachers with different kinds of subject specialization. Considering these advantages, it is concluded that many more teachers should be educated at research universities.

There are, however, certain problems involved in teacher education programs in research universities. These problems can be classified into two broad areas. One is within the realm of the university's responsibility, while the other is outside the university's control. One problem within the jurisdiction of the university, for example, is the potential for insufficient teacher education programs. The main functions of each department are research and training at the graduate level and teaching at the undergraduate level. Teacher education programs are outside the departments' function and concern. Thus, teacher education programs tend to offer only the minimal requirements for obtaining teachers' certificates. Problems outside the control of the university include examples such as the decreasing opportunity to enter the teaching profession because of declining enrollments of children and the decreasing attractiveness of the teaching profession as a result of serious problems in schools and the relative decline in teachers' salaries. These problems may or may not reduce the number of students at Kyoto University who desire to become teachers. In considering teacher education programs in research universities, the impact of these problems on the programs should be examined. Only the problems directly related to the university will be discussed in this article.

We attempt to discuss, in this article, the significance of the existence of numerous departments and its impact on the teacher education pro-

gram, the significance of the graduate school for teacher education and the role of the Department of Education (The Department of Education at Kyoto University is a research-oriented institute and not a teacher training institute). Our method is to compare the characteristics and opinions of (a) teachers who completed undergraduate courses in the humanities and social sciences with teachers who completed undergraduate courses in the natural sciences, (b) teachers who completed undergraduate courses with those who completed graduate courses, and (c) teachers who graduated from the Department of Education with those who graduated from other departments.

### Major Findings and the General Characteristics of Teachers

The major findings and the general characteristics and opinions of teachers who graduated from Kyoto University that were reported in our survey are:

1. The responding teachers included graduates from all undergraduate schools, except the Department of Medicine, and from a number of graduate schools that deal with disciplines taught in the schools.
2. The most common reason for entering the teaching profession is related to a high evaluation of the teaching profession. In some cases the teachers were influenced by school teachers from their own school days.
3. The teachers do not rate highly the courses in the teacher education program they took while they were students.
4. The teachers think that the teacher education programs at research universities like Kyoto University should emphasize teaching broad and fundamental matters relating to education, not technical and practical matters.
5. The teachers believe that the most important ability required of a teacher is an understanding of human beings, followed by scholastic ability in one's subject area. These abilities are thought to be acquired by teaching experience followed by personal native ability.
6. Many teachers would like to participate in inservice training if Kyoto University offered such training and the courses in which they wish to participate are mostly in subjects related to their specialty.
7. Almost all teachers would like the establishment of a sabbatical system (for example, 6 months or 1 year of paid vacation after 10 years of service).

Comparison of Characteristics and Opinions of Teachers Who  
Were Graduates of Departments of Humanities and Social  
Sciences with Graduates of Natural Sciences (Excluding Teachers  
Who Completed Graduate School)

It is assumed that teachers' opinions differ according to their own specialty. Based on this assumption, in this study the teachers are classified into two groups, graduates from humanities and social sciences (238 in number), and graduates from natural sciences (176 in number). The question of teachers who completed graduate school will be addressed later in this article. Comparisons are made insofar as differences seem to exist between the two groups.

In terms of reasons for becoming a teacher, the most frequent selection was that the "teaching profession is a rewarding occupation." The second most frequent selection of both graduates from humanities and social sciences and from natural sciences was "he or she is suited for being a teacher." But the third selection by graduates from humanities and social sciences was the "influence of primary and secondary school teachers who taught him or her," while the third selection of graduates from natural sciences was "experience of teaching practicum while a student." It is considered that this response difference was a reflection of the fact that students majoring in humanities and social sciences tend to make up their minds to become a teacher relatively early in their university career, while students majoring in natural sciences tend to decide on their occupation relatively later.

With respect to the evaluation of courses taken that related to the teaching profession, the evaluation was relatively low. Looking at the "Principles of Education," the evaluation of graduates from humanities and social sciences are higher than those of natural sciences. For example, concerning the statement "Courses in Principle of Education provided a broad perspective on education," 25.1% and 32% of graduates from the humanities and social sciences agreed. However, only 15.7% and 22.9% of graduates from the natural sciences agreed. Concerning the statement "Courses in Principle of Education were helpful in encouraging the desire to enter the teaching profession," there was no large differences between the two groups (with the amendments of Teacher Certificate Law in 1989, the subject of Principle of Education has been divided into four separate subjects). It is hypothesized that courses in subjects relating to the teaching profession were more familiar to students majoring in humanities and social sciences than to those in natural sciences, and thus aroused more interest among the former. With respect to the question of the perceived emphasis in the teacher

Table 1  
*Place Where Teachers' Abilities Are Acquired*

	<i>University</i>	<i>Experience as Teacher</i>	<i>Personal Native Ability</i>	<i>Others</i>
Graduates from Hum. Soc. Sci. (257)	11.3% (29)	48.6% (125)	24.5% (63)	15.6% (40)
Graduates from Nat. Sci. (175)	8.0% (14)	50.3% (88)	32.0% (56)	9.7% (17)

education programs offered at Kyoto University, there was almost no difference between the two groups. Responses to the question of where teachers' abilities are acquired are as follows:

Table 1 shows that the two groups of teachers mostly selected "experience as a teacher" as the place where teachers' abilities are acquired, followed by "personal native ability," and the "university." There seems to be little difference between the two groups.

**Comparison of Characteristics and Opinions of Teachers Who Completed Graduate School with Teachers Who Completed Only Undergraduate Courses**

As shown in our survey, teachers who completed graduate schools comprised 12.7% (67 in number in this survey) of all teachers who graduated from Kyoto University, and about 60% of these teachers are graduates from departments of natural sciences and about 40% of these teachers are graduates from departments of humanities and social sciences. The comparison below is made only if there are differences between the two groups.

Concerning the question about the teacher education program offered at Kyoto University, the most frequent selection by teachers who graduated from the undergraduate program was "The program now offered may be sufficient" (37.6%). The second most frequent selection was "There should be more programs than those now offered." On the other hand, the most frequent selection on the part of teachers who completed graduate school was "There should be more programs than those now offered" (49.2%), and the second most frequent selection was "The programs now offered may be sufficient." According to these results, it

Table 2  
*Place Where Teachers' Abilities Are Acquired*

	<i>University</i>	<i>Experience as Teacher</i>	<i>Personal Native Ability</i>	<i>Others</i>
Graduates from Undergraduate courses (432)	9.9% (43)	49.3% (213)	27.6% (119)	13.2% (57)
Graduates from graduate schools (67)	7.5% (5)	32.8% (22)	44.8% (30)	14.9% (10)

can be suggested that teachers who completed graduate school tend to desire a more enriched teacher education program.

Concerning the question about the abilities required of teachers, the most frequent selection by teachers who completed the undergraduate program was "understanding of human beings" (33.7%), followed by "affection for children" (21.5%), and "scholastic ability" (19.1%). The most frequent selection by teachers who completed graduate school was also "understanding of human beings" (31.3%), which was followed by "scholastic ability" (21.9%), and "affection for children" (20.3%). Although the differences are slight, it may be suggested that teachers who completed graduate school value subject matter experience more highly than teachers who completed undergraduate courses.

Concerning the question of where teachers' abilities are acquired, comparisons between the two groups are shown in Table 2.

It can be seen that the most frequent selection by teachers from undergraduate programs was "experience as teacher," while the most frequent selection by those who completed graduate school was "personal native ability." If we compare graduates of the humanities and social sciences with those of the natural sciences, the results are the same. It seems that those who complete graduate school consider "personal native ability" as the source of teachers' abilities much higher than those completing undergraduate programs. This may be attributed to the fact that those who complete graduate school tend to study their own specialty in more depth.

#### Opinions of Graduates from the Department of Education

In our survey, teachers who graduated from the Department of Education have some different characteristics and opinions when compared to

teachers who graduated from other departments. In this section, the opinions of the 54 respondents are discussed. The opinions of graduates from the Graduate School of Education are excluded because the number of graduate students that responded is so few.

Concerning the timing of the decision to become a teacher, the most frequent selection was "Before entering the University" (34%), followed by "Attendance at the College of Liberal Arts and Science (the first 2 years)" (19.1%). Compared to all teachers surveyed, the ratio was 12.2% to 6%, respectively. Concerning the reason for becoming a teacher, the most frequent selection was "the teaching profession is a rewarding profession" (74.5%).

In regards to evaluating courses related to the teaching profession, graduates from the Department of Education tend to evaluate them higher than graduates from other departments. For example, 37.7% of the graduates from the Department of Education gave affirmative answers to the statement "Courses in principles of Education were useful for present educational activities," compared to 22.4% of all graduates. Also, 45.6% of the graduates from the Department of Education gave affirmative answers to the statement "Courses in principles of Education provided a broad perspective on education," compared to 27.9% of all graduates.

Concerning the teacher education program offered at Kyoto University, the most frequent selection was "There should be more programs than those now offered" (48.1%), followed by "The program now offered may be sufficient" (31.5%). In contrast, the most frequent selection by all graduates was "The program now offered may be sufficient," followed by "There should be more programs." This may suggest that teachers graduating from the Department of Education desire a more enriched teacher education program.

Concerning the question about teachers' abilities, "Understanding of human beings" and "Affection for children" are selected almost as frequently by all graduates (28.3% and 26.4%, respectively). It is a characteristic of graduates from the Department of Education that they regard "affection for children" as a very important ability for teachers to have.

With respect to the question about the source of teachers' abilities, the most frequent selection was "Experience as teacher" (57.4%). The choice of "Personal native ability" was relatively low (24.1%, compared to 29.9% for all graduates).

It is concluded that teachers who graduated from the Department of Education tend to decide to become a teacher earlier in their student careers, to evaluate courses related to the teaching profession highly, and to desire a more enriched teacher education program. These opin-

ions of graduates from the Department of Education should help direct the development of teacher education programs in research universities.

## Conclusions

This article, having chosen Kyoto University as a model for considering teacher education programs in Japanese research universities, analyzed the findings of our survey on the opinions of teachers who graduated from Kyoto University. In terms of our approach, three organizational characteristics of Kyoto University (i.e., the existence of a number of departments, the existence of graduate schools, and the existence of the Department of Education whose major functions are research and teaching, but not teacher training) are highlighted. Then, comparison of teachers' background characteristics and opinions are made according to which department they graduated from in order to examine (a) whether there are differences among teachers in different specialization; (b) what kinds of differences exist, if any; and (c) what impact these differences have on the teacher education programs.

If Kyoto University attempts to improve its teacher education program, the university should make the most of the advantages that these three organizational characteristics create. In turn, the university will also have to solve the problems brought about by the three organizational characteristics. Conclusions regarding the advantages and problems based upon our survey results are summarized as follows:

1. Regarding the existence of a number of departments composed of many specializations, the one advantage is that the university is better able to train many teachers to perform different teaching methods. Another advantage is that it is able to train teachers with many different views of human beings and society based upon their academic backgrounds. As shown in our survey, although teachers have many common opinions, they also differ according to their academic backgrounds. The third advantage is that it provides the student with opportunities to experience specialties other than his or her own and to meet students with different views and abilities. Some teachers in our survey even graduated from two departments.

However, the diversification of specialties does produce problems. If we leave the diversity as it is, the teacher education program may be inconsistent and ineffective. Thus, the question of how diversity can be integrated into a coherent teacher education program must be settled. Focusing on abilities such as subject matter experience and the understanding of children may be useful for dealing with this problem. An-

other problem, already mentioned, is that teacher education programs tend to focus on minimal requirements as a result of each department's concern with its own research and teaching. As a result, a student may think that what he or she must have for becoming a teacher is limited to expertise in their own specialization, and not include knowledge of education in general. As shown in our survey, the ability to understand children is most important from the teacher's point of view. This problem is also related to the integration of courses.

2. Another advantage is the fact that many graduate students take courses for the teaching profession, and the university is able to provide teachers with a high degree of expertise. As shown in our survey, teachers who graduated from graduate schools are interested in more practical programs and in the reform of teacher education programs.

However, as is also shown in our survey, teachers who graduated from graduate schools tend to place a high value on scholastic ability and personal native ability. This perspective may be biased. Further, if this perspective was formed as a result of their teachers' research in graduate courses, this matter must also be taken into consideration.

3. With respect to the Department of Education (whose current work is geared more towards research and teaching than the training of teachers), if, as our survey suggests, most teachers who graduate from Kyoto University think that the teacher education program at Kyoto University should provide broad knowledge concerning education in general instead of putting practical emphasis on teacher training, then the Department of Education should serve this purpose.

According to our survey results, teachers who graduate from the Department of Education have higher opinions of the courses taken that related to the teaching profession and expressed more interest in the reform of the teacher education programs than did graduates of other departments. In other words, it appears that students from the Department of Education seem more interested in the knowledge the university has determined contributes to becoming ideal teachers. If students other than those of the Department of Education are properly motivated for the teaching profession and afforded opportunities to study education, they may become more interested in the teaching profession and participate actively in courses related to the teaching profession. In this case, the Department of Education will be expected to play a vital role in facilitating this process. In short, it is concluded that the teacher education program in a research university should enrich its program and provide more fundamental views and knowledge of education rather than technical and practical matters.

# A Case for University-Based Professional Development and Experimental Schools: Japanese and American Perspectives

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*Arthur R. King, Jr.*

*Yasushi Mizoue*

## Introduction

University professional educators in both Japan and the United States depend upon cooperating elementary and secondary schools to provide the authentic school environments that support their full range of missions—preservice teacher education, counselor and administrator preparation, research, educational innovation, program development, and program dissemination, among others. Two types of cooperating schools attempt to serve these needs: (a) elementary, secondary, and preschools in local public or private school systems; and (b) elementary and secondary schools supported and managed by their host universities. This article hopes to illuminate the special qualities and potential of the latter set, the university-controlled schools in Japan and the United States. In Japan, cooperating schools are called "attached schools"; in the United States they are most often called "laboratory schools," though other terms, including "model school," "demonstration school," "campus school," "learning laboratory," "learning center," "university school," and "professional development schools," are used. We will use the term "university-controlled schools" in this article when referring to these American schools.

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Japanese and American cooperating schools became common in the 19th century as systematic programs of teacher education were formed in both countries. For example, the Shinonome Attached Elementary School was formed in 1875 to support the programs of Hiroshima Normal School. In the United States, 70% of the normal schools (schools for preparation of teachers) in the United States at the turn of the century maintained their own model or training schools. The standards of the American Association of Teachers Colleges in 1926 mandated the following:

Each teachers college shall maintain a training school under its control as part of its organization for the purposes of observation, demonstration, and supervising student teaching on the part of the students. The use of an urban or rural school system, under sufficient control and supervision of the college to permit carrying out the educational policy of the college to a sufficient degree for the conduct of effective student teaching, will satisfy the requirement.

Later, the needs of teacher education outstripped the capacities of the campus laboratory schools. Hence, more and more local public schools, much improved over the years, were used for teacher training and other functions. In today's Japan the large proportion of elementary school teachers have their clinical training in attached campus schools; the minority of middle and secondary teachers do so. At this time in the United States only a small minority of new teachers are prepared in the approximately 100 existing university-controlled schools. American campus schools are as likely to be participating in research, development, and inservice education as they are in preservice clinical training.

Educators in both countries are making efforts to improve the quality of cooperating school environments. The Holmes Group, an American consortium of approximately 100 major research universities, promotes the most substantial current effort in the United States, the formation of professional development schools in each university's service area. Professional development schools are seen as partnerships of teacher educators and teachers and administrators working in cooperative public elementary and secondary schools. According to The Holmes Group, "the term [professional development school] implies a realistic setting conducive to long-term research and development aimed at the improvement of all schooling." The schools in this partnership hope to promote an ambitious set of functions:

- teaching and learning for understanding;
- creating a learning community;

- teaching and learning for understanding for everybody's children;
- continuing learning by teachers, teacher educators, and administrators;
- thoughtful, long-term inquiry into teaching and learning by school and university faculty working as partners; and
- inventing a different kind of organizational structure for the school, one that can initiate these profound changes and support them over time. (The Holmes Group, 1990)

While the university-based schools aspire to similar goals and have long, and at least partially successful, experience in trying to achieve them, the extensive Holmes Group literature gives campus schools little or no recognition. Unfortunately, the university-based schools in the United States are often seen as out of date; to many they are invisible. In contrast, Japanese attached schools have maintained their distinctiveness.

The writers of this article have long careers in the field, one in Japan, the other in the United States. We believe that a strong case can be made for keeping and strengthening university-controlled schools as an essential part of the set of cooperating schools pledged to the important work of teacher educators.

#### An American Perspective on University-Controlled Professional Development Schools (Arthur R. King, Jr.)

The task of the cooperating school is to break new ground, to cause and test new thinking, to design and develop new practice, and to continuously share this knowledge with the educational field in general. Such schools require creative and flexible people in supportive environments with considerable independence of operation. The creation of such environments, however necessary and attractive, has proven to be extremely difficult.

The curriculum and instructional practices of almost all American schools are relatively common, according to John Goodlad's monumental study of schooling entitled *A Place Called School* (1984). Few teachers adequately demonstrate either the curricula called for by professional policy bodies in mathematics, science, social studies, English, and others, or the range of instructional practice advocated by leading professionals.

I wish to share the insights gained from my last 26 years of experience in forming and sustaining a special school dedicated to the goal of improving education. While my school is university-controlled and supported, it has research and development objectives similar to the contemporary professional development school, as advocated by the Holmes Group of universities. My school achieves its goals through a

systematic set of tasks, which include experimental teaching, curriculum theory, curriculum design, instructional materials design and development, developing interactions with other schools, staff development, school restructuring, and evaluation.

Almost 27 years ago my Hawaiian school was changed from a traditional campus clinical practice school to its present purpose. Its student body was changed to represent the state of Hawaii's multi-ethnic population, its socioeconomic mix, and the range of education needs of our population, excepting special education. To give equal access to knowledge, all students enroll in a common curriculum from elementary school through high school—English, social studies, mathematics, science, art, music, and physical education. All students enroll in a second language in grades 10, 11, and 12. To reduce tracking, all classes except for the upper two years of high school mathematics are taught in heterogeneous groups. Students also participate in such options as drama, extra music, debate, additional support classes in mathematics and science, interscholastic and intramural athletics (50 teams serve the population of 240 secondary level students).

In addition to the school's mission to design and demonstrate an exemplary program of education, the school is expected to influence others, to help change practices in the state and, if possible, beyond. At present over 14,000 teachers in 38 states and some foreign countries use the educational programs developed and serviced by the school. They serve over 600,000 students.

From this perspective I reflect on the process of creating special schools that are committed to research, development, demonstration, and building productive links with a wide circle of schools.

*Developing a Unified Culture That Reflects the Traditions and Competencies of Both School and University*

One of today's axioms holds that education's missions require that school and university be joined with other elements of the community into an effective union. We require a synergism of the best of the two worlds, the theoretical and the applied. The question is, how can this union be established?

To achieve the results of the professional development school, we must go beyond simple interchange and cooperation between school and university. We must create a new culture, a culture that combines the essential elements of school and university. There are three possible ways to do this.

Model A starts with working public or private schools and adds

university people and resources to their environments. This is the model for the American professional development school. Model A attempts to develop interaction between the cultures of two traditionally different organizations. Both school and university participants keep their essential identity, professional values, traditions, career lines, salary schedules, work loads, work schedules, leave and vacation schedules, promotion systems, and other features of the home institution, while at the same time attempting to work with and interact with the other unit. Legal and operational control of the school remains with its board of education, its administration, its unions, its faculty as a whole, and individual teachers. Like all established cultures, schools have great difficulty in adapting to the foreign requirements of research and development. In this model, the university faculty member is a guest in the school environment and must use the powers of gentle persuasion with teachers who are suspicious of new ideas and new and unfamiliar practices.

Model B forms a functioning school within the university environment, attempting to build the new culture in which individuals with school and university capacities and experience are committed to the professional development school as their primary responsibility. This is the typical model of the long-standing laboratory school. Students and parents identify with the school, bringing with them their full sets of personal, social, and academic characteristics. University-supported schools, assuming that they draw from the general population of the broader community, are not pristine, unreal places. For example, my Hawaiian school has recently added a social worker to the staff to assist students and families in relationships with community agencies. Visiting teachers say, sometimes with surprise, "These kids are just like mine." When things work well, teachers, scholars, and other staff members share responsibilities, learn from each other, and develop common bonds and commitments.

Model C schools might be schools formed and managed by other agencies, perhaps regional educational laboratories or private businesses. I know of none that exist at this time.

While all models have potential, I believe that the building of the new culture is far more reasonable in the university environment.

#### *Developing and Agreeing Upon the Central Ideas, Goals, and Theories of Education Necessary for Inquiry*

Regular schools are eclectic institutions. They tolerate diverse sets of personal views and styles of teaching. They live with change. Most

schools have regular turnover of teachers and administrators. Families move in and out of the school community. However, a common, coherent set of beliefs and practices are necessary when we attempt to develop "thoughtful, long-term inquiry into teaching and learning . . ." (The Holmes Group, 1990). Research and inquiry processes require the work of teams of people who bring different skills to a common task, develop and hold to coherent hypotheses, and work together to craft useful "products"—ideas, materials, and processes. Disseminating these ideas and practical educational products to others requires consistent, though flexible, treatment so that the power of the creations is not lost. Developing the necessary consistency for group research is not common in either the regular school or the university, where teachers and professors typically work by themselves (sometimes coordinating their practices with colleagues). My experience shows that a university-based school can develop this coherence quickly.

#### *Finding an Organizational Format and Resources*

Universities can provide the structures and resources necessary for schools that engage in research, development, inservice development of teachers, and the publication and diffusion of educational products. For example, most universities provide competent service in applying for and managing grants. They provide (a) a university-grade library and modern information systems, (b) academic credit, (c) degrees, and (d) a wide range of useful administrative and financial structures. For example, my Hawaiian school has created an overarching, umbrella organization called the Curriculum Research and Development Group to carry out its functions. It maintains its own publications division and a revolving account to conduct training, publishing, sales, travel, and other disseminations functions.

#### *Finding and Developing Staff and Other Human Resources*

Schools that undertake inquiry and the useful products of that inquiry such as publications, dissemination systems, curriculum development, grant solicitation and management, and wide-scale evaluation, to name a few, need educators qualified in areas not normal to either the staffs of regular school or to university personnel. The effective professional development school must recruit and build people with these capacities. My experience shows that a university provides a rich set of possibilities for staff recruitment, assignment, and growth. For example, the Hawaii

school uses 18 different systems of staff employment, which opens up 56 levels and categories for recruitment and advancement. This variety of career lines ranges from professors in a large number of educational and subject specialities to professionals and technicians of various types—teachers, writers, curriculum designers, academic and school administrators, printers, editors, book designers, and numerous others. In our experience individuals develop new capacities as part of their normal experiences. They can grow from beginning teacher or academic to experienced teacher, writer, teacher educator, team leader, or administrator. People need not leave the school unit to advance in the profession. This richness of employment opportunities, with the attendant range of salaries and flexibility of assignments that go with them, provides a necessary personnel package for the successful cooperating school.

The Hawaii experience over the past 26 years has shown that leadership of its innovative projects comes from experienced teachers armed with advanced degrees and inservice development in a rich, supportive university environment. Neither public schools nor universities alone develop such people. Further, university-controlled schools are usually free from the standard certification requirements for teachers and administrators, permitting them to bring a broader range of personnel into the school for specialized teaching and other service.

The human resources of the university are unmatched. The Hawaii school profits from the participation of over 400 university faculty from various academic departments and professional schools, almost all of it provided without additional cost. Of course, regular schools can and do get assistance from university faculty, but the critical mass available to a school on campus is not likely to be available elsewhere.

#### *Parental Acceptance*

Parents exercise considerable control over what happens in schools. Parental objections are taken seriously and even a few complaints have brought a halt to many educational experiments and changes. In this era of community involvement in policy and decision making at the school level, the parental voice is increasingly powerful.

The school committed to inquiry needs to follow its professional goals and visions through to a demonstration and evaluation. The university-controlled school can demand the necessary permission from its parents as a condition of enrollment.

### *Student Selection*

Many studies require a student body tailored to its needs. For example, my school in Hawaii asks local public and private schools to refer students who meet the composite profile of students in the state, using the criteria of ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and school performance. To conserve resources, we reduced the number of students in the school from 1000 to 350. Public and private schools, whose primary function is service to the students and the community, have difficulty in tailoring their populations.

### *Dissemination Capability*

Schools committed to the enterprise of educational improvement must have a wider scope than themselves; they must be capable of disseminating educational ideas, practices, and materials to other schools. The innovation must be developed into a form that can be seen, understood, and used by others. It must contain the necessary print and other media for use with students and their teachers. Schools must be supported in their examination and trials with the new innovation and in tailoring it for local use.

One example of a dissemination effort by the university-controlled laboratory school in Hawaii began over 20 years ago, when it was noted that science instruction in the lower secondary grades of our state was well below aspirations. We augmented the laboratory school staff and set them to the task of designing a sequence of science instruction for grades 6 through 9. The initial conceptualization was made by a group of over 40 teachers, scientists, and science educators. After 2 years of repeated trials in the laboratory school, the curriculum was tried successfully in a few participating public and independent schools. A major task remained, however, that of developing a system to expand the use of the program. The failures and limited successes of the major curriculum projects of the 1960s were known. Since our curriculum and related instructional methods were quite different from the typical, we found that teachers required specific inservice training in the theory, content, and instructional method of the curriculum. Over time we recognized the need for continuous, long-term interaction between the design and development group (the professional development school) and teachers in the field. We created structures to develop and sustain this interaction. The science program became quite popular in Hawaii, with approximately 80% of the state's teachers making independent, personal

decisions to adopt and use it. This level of use has continued for over 20 years.

A national dissemination of an updated version was started 6 years ago, aided by a grant from the National Diffusion Network and numerous smaller grants from Federal staff development programs, as well as school and district funds. Now in its 7th year of nationwide dissemination, over 4,000 teachers in 30 states have adopted the program, with the adoption curve still ascending. The scheme of dissemination developed by our university-controlled school in Hawaii—familiarization, training of teachers, and continued interaction—has been extended to the full nation, with some trials overseas. A corps of 45 certified teacher trainers, all coordinated from the campus school in Hawaii, supports the effort. For example, 56 training sessions, each serving about 20 teachers, were scheduled for the past summer.

The Hawaii laboratory school has three other nationally disseminated curriculum programs in math and science in progress, with increasing numbers of participants in many states. One of them builds a consortium of eight other laboratory schools and their host universities into a national network. The dissemination program supports a staff of almost 50 individuals, including specialists such as book designers, typesetters, evaluators, training administrators, teacher trainers, clerks, and printers, among others.

Through this university-based and -supported program, the creative contributions of a small school of 350 students are being made available to many teachers throughout the country and beyond. Perhaps no other university-based school has programs as large as this one, but a number have made similar contributions to school programs in their local communities, their states, and beyond.

There can be difficulties for the university-affiliated school. It must compete for resources with the balance of the college or department of education, and indeed the entire university. When funds and space are short, a campus school makes a likely target. We would not think of depriving the chemistry department of its laboratory, expecting it to use the laboratories of local industries, but the operation of a school as a dedicated, functioning laboratory is not as well established. However, when the laboratory school finds a useful niche and provides a necessary service, it finds strong support.

Some potential difficulties do not appear. The ideas and products of university-affiliated schools are not rejected by other schools when the university school has a comparable student body and has interesting and attractive ideas and products.

While we have shown that a university-based school can be successful in developing and disseminating educational innovations, only a limited number of the 100 such schools do so at present. Most lack funds, leadership, and support from their institutions, but the model is valid. I believe that the advantages of university sponsorship noted above are highly useful to successful research and development work. It remains to be seen, of course, whether regular public schools, even with the support given to professional development schools, will be similarly successful.

### The Japanese Perspective for Attached Schools (Yasushi Mizoue)

University-controlled attached schools are a standard component of Japan's national system of higher education. Of the 96 national universities in the country, the 56 that carry responsibility for teacher preparation support and control 260 attached schools. Of these, 48 are kindergartens, 73 are elementary schools, 78 are junior high schools, 17 are academic or vocational high schools, 42 are schools for the mentally handicapped, and one each serves blind and hearing-impaired youngsters.

Hiroshima University, as an example, has 11 attached schools—two kindergartens, three elementary schools, four junior high schools, and two senior high schools. Each attached school has its own historical background. Let me use Shinonome Elementary School as an example.

The Meiji government created the modern educational system of Japan in 1872, with a school established in each town and village. Following quickly, a public normal school was established in Hiroshima in 1874, with the attached Shinonome Elementary School coming a year later. The Normal School added the girls division in 1882, which quickly received independence as Mihara Girls' Normal School in 1893. Under the new Fundamental Law of Education following World War II, the Junior High School was started in 1947.

When Hiroshima University was established in 1949, Hiroshima Normal School was assigned as its Branch School of Faculty of Education. In 1978, Shinonome Elementary School became attached directly to Hiroshima University. During its long history, Shinonome Elementary School has served a major role in teacher preparation.

Shinonome Elementary School accepts 250 senior students for 6-week periods of teaching practice, a requirement for graduation. Although junior year students must take the classroom observation for 1 week in the public schools in Higashi-Hiroshima-shi (city) where the new uni-

versity campuses are under construction, the attached school is considered the more preferable institution for the teaching practice.

The attached schools have two missions. One is providing teaching practice for the students; the other is presenting the results of their classroom trials and studies of school education. For example, the attached schools have accepted the responsibility to study the educational implications of the changes in contemporary society. Throughout Japan's history, the group mind (or uniformity) has been held as necessary for personal development, as well as for the development of the country itself. Recently the importance of individuality or diversity among the students has become of concern. Therefore, the attached schools have set up study themes such as, "Improving teaching-learning in the classroom by emphasizing the individuality of students." The attached school then shares (as do other attached schools in Japan) the results of these studies with the public and private schools. Shinonome Elementary School holds an annual conference for the teachers in the public or private schools, during which teachers open their classes to visitors. They demonstrate their teaching and present the results of their studies.

The attached schools are controlled by the university president under policies and funds coming from the section of attached schools in the National Ministry of Education. However, the educational policies of attached schools are not influenced by the Ministry. Shinonome Elementary School and the other 10 attached schools are under the umbrella of the University Office of Attached Schools and the attached school management committee, composed of university staff. The budget provided by the Ministry of Education is allotted to each attached school by this committee. The budget given to university teaching and research faculties is separate from the budget of the attached schools. Therefore, even if the budget to the university were to shrink, the attached schools would not be affected. While the salary standard of the attached schools is lower than that of the public schools, the pride and enthusiasm for the teaching and study among the teachers in the attached school may compensate for this handicap.

The collaboration with the attached schools is important to the school of education. Professors need them to undertake empirical study in the school, because the public school teachers do not typically want to spare the time for the professors. This attitude is influenced by the teachers' union. As a result, the university prefers to assign student teaching and educational study to the attached school.

Generally speaking, attached schools, as well as both their teachers and students, are accorded higher standing than the public schools.

Hence, the results of the studies in the attached schools are highly respected and are often introduced into the public schools. That is to say, the attached schools are the model for the public schools. While some public schools are as enthusiastic about participation in educational study as are the attached schools, the attached schools with their more experienced staffs are regarded as the educational centers in their districts.

It is regarded as necessary for the teachers to transfer back and forth between attached schools and public schools. Because the quality of teachers in the attached school is highly appreciated, they can get positions as supervisors in the Board of Education and other responsible positions in the public schools.

Some teachers in the attached schools get the opportunity to be appointed university lecturers or associate professors in teacher education. The Faculty of School Education of Hiroshima University recruits some teachers from the attached schools as temporary lecturers in the subject method courses.

There are weak points to attached schools in Japan. Students come from all areas in the city, depriving the schools of a nearby community. In contrast, the close touch of the public schools with their communities supports a community-based curriculum. Also, the students in the attached school are admitted on the basis of tests, because higher level students are thought to be needed for practice teaching. In contrast, the students in the public school present greater variety. Further, only a few inservice teachers are presently brought into the attached schools for staff development.

Collaboration between the university and the attached school is clearly needed for the enrichment of all aspects of teacher education—student teaching, method courses, and educational study.

### Conclusion

Laboratory schools can be formed by their universities for specific purposes and in their image as experimental, knowledge-seeking, knowledge-sharing institutions. Of course, not all attached or laboratory schools are equally successful at experimentation and innovation. Many are, however, and when they are successful they reflect the standards, environments, leadership, and commitment of their sponsoring universities.

University-based laboratory schools cannot possibly provide all of the services required by the teacher education community. We have too many teachers, administrators, and counselors to be prepared, too much

research, development, and staff inservice training to be accomplished. Further, public schools exist in many types of communities. Their experience and wisdom is a necessary part of our collective professional knowledge.

So, the question is not a choice between university-based schools or committed public schools, but how many of each type are needed for what purposes? One answer could be partnerships of university-based and public schools, linking and otherwise sharing programs, strategies, responsibilities, facilities, and staffs to the benefit of all. A second answer could be a division of labor, with each type of cooperating school assuming those tasks for which it is most fitted. This open, flexible approach will prevent premature assumptions about what types of schools are the most effective and for what. Reflected and shared experience is the great teacher. We should accelerate the search for the teaching/learning environments that we need by establishing, funding, supporting, and experimenting with a variety of special schools.

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# The Role of the University in the Inservice Education of Teachers

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*Akira Tokuyama*

## Introduction

In the United States, college and university courses have been the primary means of continuing teacher education and the majority of teachers received a Master's Degree by attending part-time prior to 1980. Continuing education was rewarded by salary increases in specified increments, and was required for recertification and moving to administrative positions. Prior to 1980 most inservice programs focused on professional training rather than broader topics or a specific discipline.

In the U.S., *A Nation at Risk*, produced by The National Commission on Excellence in Education in April, 1983, called for education reform. In response, the Commission for Excellence in Teacher Education published the report, "A Call for Change in Teacher Education," in which every part of teacher education—from the liberal arts education of the prospective teacher to the continuing education of the veteran teacher—is said to need improvement. It stated that even the best existing program is not good enough. It recommended that state boards of education give highest priority to the improvement of the professional development of teachers. The trend calling for reform was extended by the report by The Holmes Group, *Tomorrow's Teachers* (1986), and the improvement of the quality of teacher education was again stressed. Various teacher education reform activities have been developed by state and local boards of education, such as career ladder plans.

In Japan, universities have not played much of a role in teachers' continuing education, although individual faculty contributed as members of an advisory group to educational boards. Teachers, including teacher organizations, took responsibility for their own professional de-

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velopment. In the past, few teachers pursued advanced degrees because part-time enrollment opportunities in colleges and universities were few. Most inservice programs focused on professional training rather than broader topics or studies of a discipline prior to the 1980s. In the 1980s, inservice education changed according to different trends, although much remains the same.

In 1983, Hyogo University of Teacher Education (HUTE) was established for a Master's level degree program for inservice teacher education. It was the first in Japan to accept inservice teachers as full-time graduate students; afterwards two more universities were added in Joetsu and Naruto. Since then, some 4,300 career teachers have been accepted in the graduate program. More than 15% of the graduates have been promoted as principals or deputies, and appointed to administrative positions of educational boards. Although graduates are not yet numerous, the new system of inservice education introduced fresh air into the education of Japan's teachers.

The new system of educational training programs includes training for various stages of a teacher's career and was supported by the Ministry of Education following the *Second Report on Educational Reform* (1986) by the National Council on Educational Reform in Japan. The introduction of the national training system for the induction of beginning teachers is revised and improved. It recommends that beginning teachers be engaged in 1 year of training in the school where they will teach and that both curricular and extracurricular fields of instruction be under the supervision of the mentor teacher to improve their teaching.

In this article, I would like to outline our program of graduate level inservice teacher education, as it is new to Japan.

### **Categories of Research Themes of Dissertations in HUTE**

The establishment of the three national universities introduced a new program of university graduate inservice education. Prior to establishment of the three universities, graduate programs had been limited in the field of pedagogy and psychology. The main themes of the dissertations in these programs were concentrated in the fields of educational history or philosophy, and research related to the practice of school education was rare (while research in school education has progressed greatly since the 1970s in Germany, e.g., Macke, 1990). Hyogo University of Teacher Education began research to identify problems in teaching practices in schools and ways to integrate theories of education science in an effort to establish a new interdisciplinary science of school education in Japan.

Table 1  
*Number of Inservice Students in HUTE*

	Primary School	Lower School	Upper School	Special & Kinder.	Total
<b>Practice in School Education</b>					
Foundation of Education	129	62	13	3	207
Educational Administration	103	60	25	4	192
Method of Education	167	78	17	2	264
Student Guidance	109	68	35	2	214
Infant Education	21	6		20	47
Education for Handicapped	45	20	2	127	194
<b>Subjects Education</b>					
Language Education	108	128	145	1	382
Social Studies Education	147	101	74	3	325
Natural Science Education	122	157	97	2	378
Art Education	71	73	21	4	169
Life and Health Education	101	96	24	1	222
Total	1,123	849	453	169	2,594

After 10 years of experience, the university has analyzed the research themes of 2,300 master's degree dissertations to better understand the research preferences of inservice teachers, and therefore current trends of problems in school education. Many teachers select their research theme from difficult problems faced in their daily performance. Table 1 shows the total number of HUTE inservice students in 10 years (1981-1991) in each major, classified by school types.

### General Trends

Many of the practical problems teachers bring to our university are either isolated individual cases, or too obscure from a research viewpoint to be studied scientifically. Because daily problems in schools include complicated cases, it is rather hard for teachers to isolate problems and develop a strategy for research. One of the most important and difficult tasks for academic advisors is to help inservice teachers find an appropriate topic and research method to organize their individual cases. Through the intense discussions of seminars, professors themselves find methods to study various trends in school problems. They upgrade school education into the science of "school pedagogy."

### **Department of Practice in School Education**

This department focuses on research in the practice of school education and deals with problems from the perspective of teachers' performances or activities in schools. It includes six institutes:

1. Foundation of School Education, which includes the role of schools in human society and research on the basic theories of school education, such as educational philosophy and history, educational psychology, and educational sociology.
2. Educational Administration, which includes, besides school administration in the strict sense, topics such as the leadership of principals, educational law, politics, finances, schools as organizations, and related topics in the field of social psychology.
3. Educational Methodology, which includes theories of learning and instruction, and educational evaluation and curriculum development, from the viewpoint of educational methodology and developmental psychology.
4. Student Guidance, which draws on clinical psychology to concentrate on counseling and guiding misbehaving students. It also covers extracurricular fields in school, such as vocational guidance, moral education, and other practical fields of social education.
5. Preschool Education, which includes the education and psychology of infants and young children, and also the subject areas of kindergarten or preschool instruction.
6. Education for the Handicapped, which includes education, psychology, and clinical practice for the handicapped.

#### *Foundation of School Education*

The 143 dissertations from this institute dealt with a fairly wide number of topics concerning the foundation of school education: 56 (39%) are in the categories of educational philosophy, thought, history, or sociology; 28 (20%) are in the category of developmental and cognitive psychology, including the psychology of the handicapped; 37 (26%) are related to the practice of school education, such as student counseling, vocational guidance, method of instruction, and teaching-learning theories; 22 (15%) deal with basic theories of education, concerning humanity, self-actualization and formation of personality, and so on. The students intend to systematize the practice of school activities by these fundamental theories of education. The practical subjects they chose to concentrate on in the research themes of their dissertations have not

been considered for scientific research in the traditional pedagogy of Japan.

#### *Educational Administration*

The 100 dissertations from this educational administration institute generally focus on school administration or classroom management: 30 are in the first category including the fields of educational systems, educational law and finance, and school management; 34 in the second category are related to the leadership of the principal or deputy principal and classroom management, including the stimulation of classroom and school activities of teachers by means of innovative subject matter.

Among the research themes of this institute, the majority deal with problems directly related to the daily activities of schools. Because such independent problems of practice in education have not been considered for research in the traditional pedagogy, professors must develop appropriate methods of study. In many cases, empirical methods are introduced to examine these problems; teachers introduce hypotheses from their actual performances, which are proven by data obtained from field surveys or experimental instruction.

#### *Educational Methodology*

Out of 127, 31 (25%) dissertations are related to studies to improve the method of instruction in various subjects; 32 (25%) are concentrated on the teaching and learning process supported by theories of instruction; other focus areas included the psychology of learning (20%), evaluation (10%), and curricula development (10%). Most theses are concerned with the practice of instruction and they are, therefore, a direct result of teachers' experiences in schools.

Two thirds of the studies were taken from actual examples of the teaching and learning process in the classroom or micro-teaching programs derived from actual instruction. Most theses refer to an actual teaching program, training-learning program, or evaluation program of the teaching and learning process. Mathematics, natural science, and social studies are the major subject area focuses.

#### Department of Subject Education

The department consists of five institutes focusing on the following subject areas:

1. Language Education, which covers the subject areas of literature, and reading and writing of Japanese and English. The research of this institute examines education from the perspective of language expression; Japanese is considered the primary language and English as the second language.

2. Social Studies Education, which covers the subject areas of history, geography, sociology, politics, and economics. Research themes include the basic studies of these subject areas from the viewpoint of human life in time and space.

3. Natural Science Education, which covers the subject areas of mathematics and sciences. Science in the lower secondary school consists of two categories: the first includes physics and chemistry, and the second covers areas of biology and earth sciences. In the upper secondary school, science is separated into five subjects including integrated science, physics, chemistry, biology, and earth sciences. The scope of the research themes includes phenomena and concepts concerning energy, materials, reactions, the "dynamic earth," and how these relate to peoples' lives.

The "Dynamic earth" is a generalized concept in earth science, which summarizes phenomena and features of our "living planet." We classify earth's phenomena by two kinds of energy and material flows: endogenous dynamics (*Endogene Dynamik*) and exogenous dynamics (*Exogene Dynamik*). The endogenous dynamics produce various phenomena and materials caused from the earth's interior, for example volcanic and subvolcanic activities, the genesis of mineral deposits, or tectonic activities such as earthquakes, faulting, and folding. The exogenous dynamics produce surface phenomena of the earth's crust as exemplified by weathering, erosion, material transportations, and deposits occurring in the atmosphere, on the surface of the earth's crust, and in the ocean. In the modern earth sciences, dynamic aspects of the earth's phenomena are emphasized, although descriptions of materials or static aspects of features were predominant in the traditional program. We use the concept of the "dynamic earth" as a key concept to develop the curricula of earth science in school subjects.

4. Art Education covers the areas of music and fine arts, including the perspective of art expression.

5. Life and Health Education includes the subject areas of technology and science concerning modern life, health, and hygiene. Three related subject areas, technology, home economics, and physical education are combined and integrated into the concept of human life technology.

Research themes include two categories: the theory of the subject contents and educational method in the subject areas. The first of these

two themes, the theory of the subject contents, includes a four-step process which introduces the basic concepts of a discipline into the subject matter in schools:

1. Understanding the leading and the basic concepts in the discipline.
2. Selection of instructional materials in the basic concepts.
3. Arrangement of subject matter.
4. Curricula development.

The theory of the subject contents is intended to result in a curriculum based upon new scientific research. It utilizes the methodology of introducing the scientific process into school subjects.

Content knowledge of a subject represents a blending of a discipline and pedagogy into an understanding of how particular topics, problems, or issues are organized, represented, adapted to the diverse interests and abilities of students, and presented for instruction (e.g., Shulman, 1987; Tokuyama, 1986; Weniger, 1930). In this process, the important role representing basic and leading concepts obtained from current results of scientific research is stressed. Teaching such concepts is necessary to improve the creativity of future generations. Teaching and instructional materials should be selected to reflect the key concepts. They are essential to curricula development and to linking scientific disciplines with school subjects. The subject contents theory develops the logic for selecting key concepts from current research, holding the norm and rationality of the discipline and/or scientific considerations, and acting in the process of elementalization without losing the essential content.

Contents theory represents a process of curricula development from the viewpoint of the science. Because modern sciences progress very fast and have various trends, there would be too many new materials to teach if school subjects followed the results of research in modern science. The first step of the contents theory represents a process of material selections. One of the most important principles for selection of new materials is "the elementalization without shortage of essentials of contents (*Elementalizierung ohne Herabmindung des Bildungsinhalts*)."<sup>1</sup> In this process we must select new materials in such a way as to include the basic and essential concepts which scientists want to transfer to the next generation; we must hold the way of thinking rational and keep the trend of the development in modern sciences (German philosophers used the terms *Wissenschaftsgeiige* or *Wissenschaftswillen*). The process begins with the selection of key concepts in a school subject, because the concepts represent not only the essential contents, but also the essential trends or way of thinking in modern sciences. Therefore, the key concept links scientific discipline with school subjects. A research goal in

the subject contents theory is not the same as pure science or a discipline itself; it is oriented toward school subjects and focuses on curriculum development.

The second area of research in subject area education is the category of educational method, which includes the method of instruction, process of teaching and learning, process of evaluation and structure of subjects, and so on. It represents a practical and clinical side of education.

Finally, both theories, subject contents theory and method of education, converge in the curriculum development theory.

### *Summary of Theses in Subject Area Education*

*Institute of Language Education.* The contents theory of this area is guided by the key concept "language expression," which is the dominant concept both in language and literature, as well as in language education. The key concept of language expression represents what is expressed by a language; it outlines the important functions and roles of language in education, as language is one of the means of human communication in our society. It is utilized when we convey our message or translate results of our research. We use language to transmit human inheritance, such as literature, philosophy, and history. Important responsibilities of language education include teaching how we express ourselves and how we understand or evaluate each other.

In Japanese language education, 63 theses out of 130 are concentrated on the key concept, 18 on discipline-based study, and 18 on foundation of the subject. In English education, 22 out of 78 are on the field of key concepts, 36 on discipline-based study, and all others concentrated on the method of education.

*Social Studies Education.* Forty-five theses out of 198 are concentrated on research of subject contents, represented by the key concept "human life in time and space"; 153 are related to education of the subject, including 38 on subject matter development, 10 on philosophical consideration of the subject, and 9 on developmental psychology in social studies (cognition in human society is a key word important for social studies education).

*Natural Science Education.* Most of the inservice teachers (147 out of 225) engaged in research related to key concepts and basic theories of science in order to get perspective and new viewpoints on current advances and discoveries in science and technology. The theses of 32 teachers focused on the method of teaching, in which the development of new methods and instruments in science teaching and new methods of evaluation are included; 5 theses were concerned with curriculum development theory,

category analysis or structure of teaching program, and the development of a new integrated science curricula for primary school.

*Art Education* (includes both music and fine art education). In music education, 12 out of 41 are related to the technique of music instruction and 10 to curriculum development. In the field of fine art, 15 out of 57 are engaged with the development of new materials for instruction, 14 with the method of instruction, 8 with psychological methods, 8 are related to aesthetics, and another 8 are related to key concepts and foundation of subjects.

*Life and Health Education* (includes three subject areas: health and physical education, technology, and home economics). In the field of physical education, 45 theses out of 94 are listed under educational methods, including instructional method, the learning-teaching process, and evaluation; 23 are related to theory of gymnastic and health science; 15 are engaged with curriculum development. In the field of technology 6 out of 19 are related to the key concept of "life technology"; 9 are related to educational methods, including the development of new materials for instruction and the teaching-learning process; 4 are related to curriculum development. In the field of home economics, 10 theses out of 14 are related to discipline-based research in life science, such as textile technology, food and nutrition chemistry; 4 theses are related to educational methods in home economics, such as the concept of the subject and the development of new teaching materials.

#### *Toward the Establishment of a New Discipline of "School Education"*

Analysis of some 2,300 dissertations reveals new trends of research at the HUTE. Problems brought by inservice teachers directly from the practice of teaching or daily activities in schools have produced for our faculty new fields of educational research, because such practical materials have not been considered for scientific research in the traditional pedagogy in which more theoretical research was predominant.

Because school-based practical problems have become more varied and complicated, and because the progress of modern science has resulted in more to teach in school, a single discipline of pedagogy is no longer able to solve the current problems of schools. We must develop new fields of research to which new integrated and/or interdisciplinary methods of science should be applied. School education is therefore characterized by new fields of investigation and new methods of research.

According to Macke (1990), school-based research increased explosively in the 1970s, and practical and empirical methods of investigation

were applied. Therefore school education (*Schulpädagogik*) has been differentiated as an independent discipline. Research at our university followed the same tendency as that reported in Germany by Macke.

Inservice teachers admitted to our university as graduate students intend to acquire solid theories and strategies to solve the daily problems of school activities. They sought to obtain the competency to conduct research themselves rather than be trained in superficial techniques.

### **Inservice Training by the Prefectural Board of Education**

#### *Kinds of Inservice Training*

The inservice training promoted by the prefectural and local boards of education are classified into two kinds: general training at different career stages and special training for different functions. We asked each prefectural board of education about the intention and main themes of each training available. The survey found the following types of inservice training available:

##### **General Training:**

1. Training for beginning teachers
2. Training after teaching for 5 years
3. Training after teaching for 10 years
4. Training after teaching for 15 years
5. Training after teaching for 20 or more years

Special and Functional Training (training for Heads of various school functions and positions), such as:

1. Training for deputy and principal
2. Training other than prefectural board
3. Long-term training in a university
4. Overseas training
5. Training planned in teachers' schools
6. Voluntary training or self-education

#### *General Training*

The general training program is undertaken at regular intervals throughout teachers' careers because these periodical programs allow teachers to reflect on their own teaching experiences, to acquire new professional knowledge, and to improve their own capacity for classroom teaching and other activities in school. In most prefectures, educational boards sponsor inservice training every 5 years, as noted above. In

recent years, a new system of initial training has been introduced under the guidance of the Ministry of Education to help beginning teachers make a successful start in their educational career. It aims at developing capabilities for teaching and guiding children, obtaining a firm sense of mission, and delivering a broad and profound knowledge about the basic concepts of being a teacher.

Figure 1A gives teachers' perspectives on what they want to get from general training programs of prefectural boards. They assign importance to the following three groups of items:

1. Sense of mission, General education, and Understanding of children
2. Instructional methods in subject areas
3. Class management and Student guidance

The issues in group 1 (indicated by the highest range in the figure) were most valued by beginning teachers and were considered less important in later career training. On the other hand, issues in groups 2 and 3 are ranked highest by teachers with 5 years of experience and are less valued by more experienced teachers.

It is characteristic to see instructional methods ranked very high, but that of knowledge in subject areas ranked low. It suggests that instructional methods and/or how-to techniques are rated higher than subject and discipline-based knowledge in inservice teacher training. Abilities of problem-finding, research promotion, and teaching material-development are also regarded as important characteristic for teachers, but not in the general training, especially for younger teachers.

### *Functional Training*

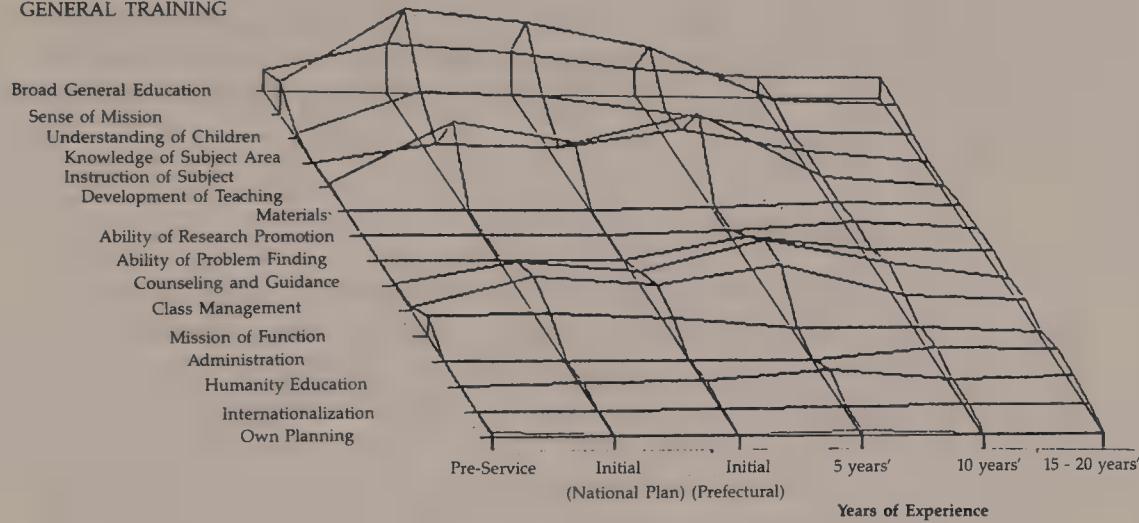
We find different patterns of evaluation for general as compared to functional training (Figures 1A & 1B). Generally, prefectural education boards' training centers placed great importance on functional training rather than on general training.

In most schools, mid-career teachers with about 10 years of professional experience are selected as heads of various affairs in schools. They tend to provide leadership in moving in new directions. They must acquire various abilities, not only in teaching knowledge and skills, but also in personal leadership of teachers. These teachers are most significant in the day-to-day performance in schools, and are therefore highly important in functional training. Improving research ability, development of teaching materials, and problem finding receive high ranges in Figure 1B. Other high ranges in the figure are seen in items of school

# The Role of the University in the Inservice Education of Teachers

## TRAIINEES INVOLVED IN PROGRAM

### A GENERAL TRAINING



### B FUNCTIONAL TRAINING

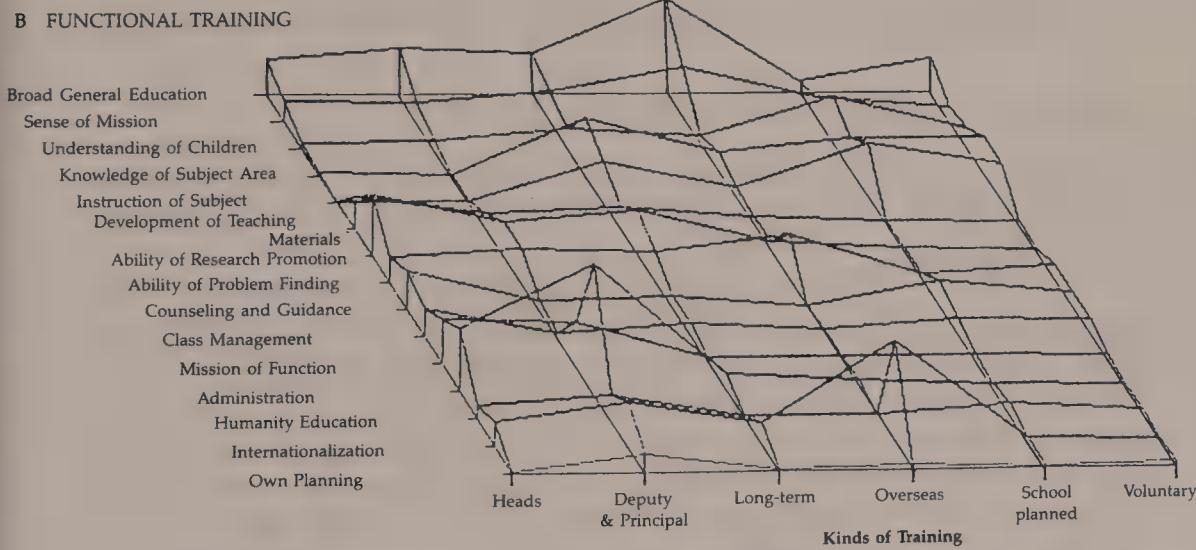


Figure 1. Intentions of inservice trainees involved in the prefectural board program.

administration, basic concepts that define different divisions of responsibility and roles within schools, and student counseling.

In the case of training for Deputy and Principal, school administration is most significant among the items of training. Concepts of roles and responsibilities, research promotion, and ability of problem solving are also important items for the training. All in all, functional training is regarded as more significant than general training by prefectural boards of education training centers because of the function leaders in school activities must perform.

#### *Training Other Than by the Educational Board*

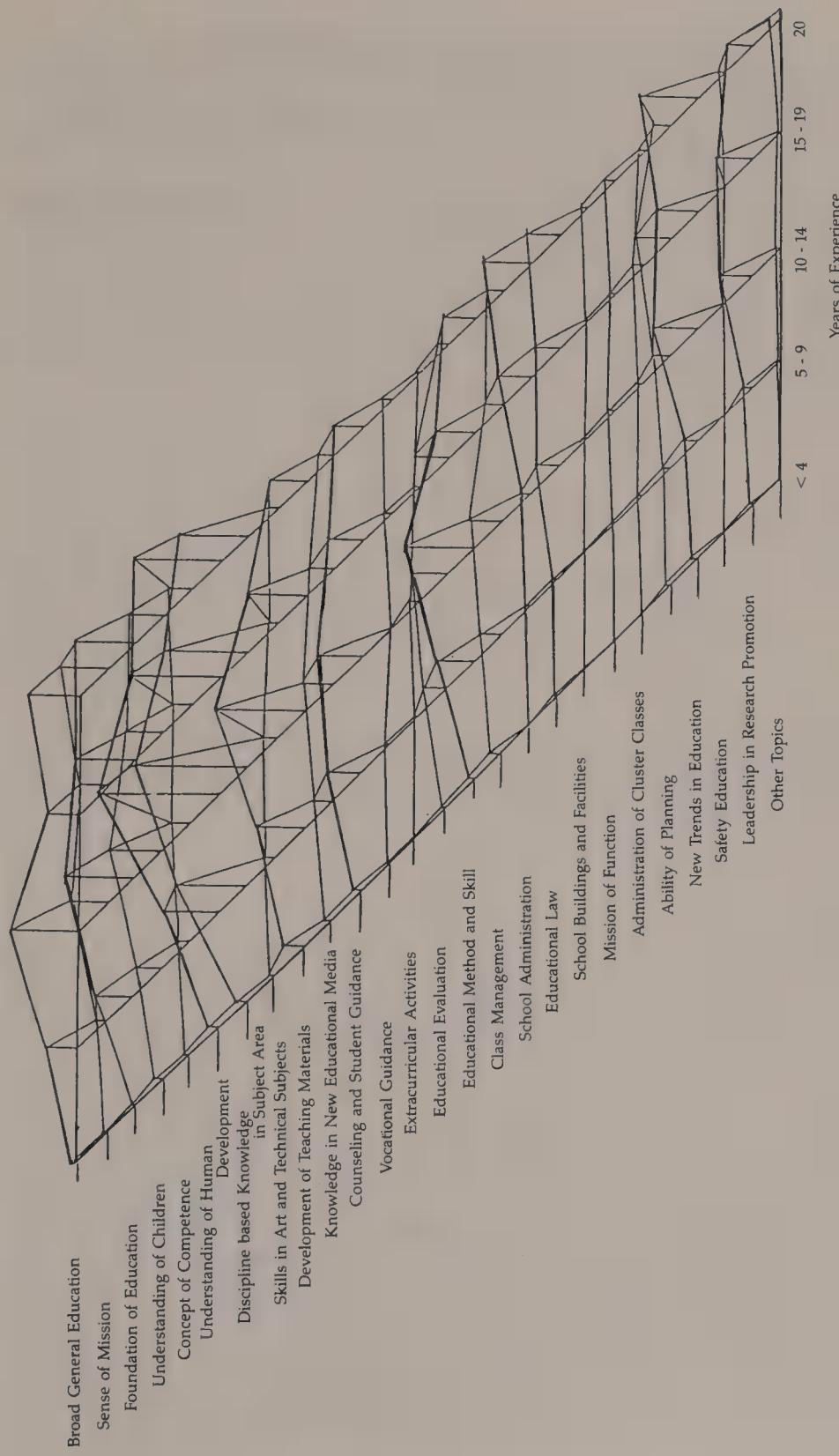
As part of long-term inservice training, prefectural educational boards send some teachers to graduate schools, such as Hyogo University of Teacher Education. In Figure 2, we see teachers' expectations for graduate school education. It is interesting to see that the item of discipline-based knowledge is more significant than the method of instruction in subject areas. On the other hand, class management or student counseling are considered less significant by the prefectural educational board, although the last two items are significant in the motivation of applicants to our university. It seems applicants distinguish different functions between their own teacher training and that of graduate school systems.

#### *Preference of Training by Inservice Teachers*

In 1989 we sent a questionnaire to 1,847 graduates of Hyogo's Master Course, most of whom are, again, inservice teachers, to determine the area of training they preferred.

For beginning teachers, the three most important items are class management (8.7%), understanding of children or students (6.7%), and skills in instruction (5.3%). Interest in the items of general education, sense of mission, student counseling, and evaluation is rather low. They have no interest at all in learning about the programs of extracurricular activities, the different divisions of responsibilities and roles within school, the ability to undertake research, or in managerial items such as school administration and educational laws. They are fully occupied with daily performance in the classroom and have no time to attend to the evaluation of their own instructional skills.

Mid-career teachers prefer training courses in concept or foundations of education (7.7%), teaching skills and methods (7.5%), counseling and guidance (6.8%), broad and general education (6.5%), and educational evaluation (4.6%). All other items are ranked less than 3%. Class man-



*Figure 2. Preference of teacher trainees*

agement is less significant for mid-career teachers than for younger teachers; discipline-based knowledge is much more highly ranked than actual methods of instruction. They are experienced in teaching and daily performance and have time to reflect on themselves and their professional responsibilities.

In the case of mature teachers, interests are evenly distributed over various items. Besides managerial items, they are also interested in new or current trends in education such as educational information or internationalization (8.0%). Next are ranked concept or foundations of education (7.8%), broad general education (6.8%), sense of mission (6.6%), school administration (6.4%), and educational law (4.6%).

Items concerning subject matter are of the highest interest for mid-career teachers (17.7%), but fairly low for mature teachers (4.7%). Class management is also highly ranked by mid-career teachers (8.7%), but low-ranked by mature teachers (2.3%). On the other hand, as stated above, new trends in education are rated 4.7% by mid-career teachers, but 8% by mature teachers; concepts in the foundation of education are ranked 1.7% by mid-career teachers and 7.8% by mature teachers; sense of mission is ranked 1.7% by mid-career teachers, and 6.6% by mature teachers; school administration is 0% by mid-career teachers, but 6.4% by mature teachers.

Needs or demands for inservice training change at different stages of teachers' careers. Inservice training should be planned so that it is appropriate to teachers' careers.

### Remarks on Teacher Training System

In comparison with Figures 1 and 2, we see a difference between the intentions of prefectural educational boards and requests or preferences of inservice teachers. Teacher training by prefectural educational boards' teacher centers is mainly concentrated on actual techniques used in teachers' performances in classrooms. However, except for beginning teachers, teachers are more interested in discipline-based knowledge or the essential knowledge base than in actual skills for instruction or classroom performance. Prefectural educational boards' teacher centers do not place importance on the general training of mature teachers.

At the Hyogo University of Teacher Education, we expect inservice teachers to engage in scientific research directly related to teaching practices. We expect research and/or problem-solving abilities will be developed among inservice teachers in various stages of their careers and also through various school activities. We hope lead teachers will produce appropriate systems for inservice training.

### **Comparison of Research Themes of Teacher Training in Prefectural Teacher Centers and Themes of HUTE Dissertations**

Research papers written as part of long-term teacher training in 33 out of 48 prefectural education centers have been collected. Their themes were classified in the same manner as the HUTE dissertations.

Generally, HUTE is higher than the centers in those categories concerned with fundamental theories or essential problems of education and/or subjects, such as knowledge of a subject's discipline (16.9% in HUTE : 1.33% in centers), basic concepts of subjects (9.5% : 0.1%), theory of educational methodology (4.9% : 0.7%), developmental psychology (2.2% : 0.3%), educational philosophy/history (3.8% : 0%), educational law and administration (2.2% : 0%), and curriculum development theory (2.7% : 1.6%).

On the other hand, centers are higher than HUTE in categories concerned with the day-to-day performance of teachers, for example: teaching techniques (3.2% in HUTE : 32.6% in centers), development of subject materials (5.7% : 11.1%), educational guidance and/or clinical psychology (2.6% : 11.9%), student guidance (2.0% : 4.2%), school and class room management (2.1% + 2.0% : 4.2% + 2.0%).

We found nearly the same tendency in the difference between the objectives of the teacher training programs of the prefectural boards of education and the teachers' preferences for training goals (Tokuyama, 1989). Teacher training at the prefectural educational board teacher centers aims at the improvement of teaching techniques used in the daily performance of teachers, and therefore the themes are more directly related to practical and/or how-to techniques than to educational theories. In this survey, we found a tendency in the preference of teachers for young teachers to be more interested in day-to-day performance, but the preference evolves toward the more essential and fundamental problems of education at later stages of teachers' careers. Mature teachers are interested in understanding human development, discipline-based knowledge in subject areas, foundations of education, and new trends in education. They don't want to study such themes in a prefectural education center, but at a graduate school of a university. Young teachers are not only interested in discipline-based knowledge in a subject area, but also in the development of teaching materials and educational methods and skills. They are interested in themes directly related to school performances, and want to find better strategies to solve their own problems through the teacher training programs of educational boards.

These findings point toward different roles for universities and teacher centers of prefectural educational boards in teacher training or

inservice education. These differences are a result of teachers' preferences. From university programs they expect more basic or theoretical themes in education and disciplines rather than practical and technical programs. On the other hand, from prefectural educational boards' teacher centers, they expect training directly related to classroom performance to help them solve practical problems.

### Conclusion

In the United States, out of 102 universities offering doctoral level courses, 26 universities have independent doctoral programs of teacher education. More than 3,800 students take doctoral level courses, and approximately 7,000 dissertations are accepted in education every year. Numerous dissertations are produced by inservice teachers who are interested in school-based education problems. The doctoral level course has therefore been correctly evaluated as a course of inservice education in the U.S.

Hyogo University of Teacher Education was the first university in Japan to have as its primary mission the education of inservice teachers as graduate students in master's level courses. In the past 11 years, 2,542 teachers have received master's degrees from the university.

It is interesting to note that the number of administrators among HUTE graduates has been increasing as years of teaching experience increases after graduation. It is suggested that the research experiences in the HUTE master's program has been seen as part of an administration career move of inservice teachers. On the other hand, the numbers of appointments of the graduates as researchers in universities is independent of the years of teaching experience and depends on the quality of the individual's work. The history of inservice education in graduate schools is still very limited in Japan, but it still seems to be correctly evaluated as to the role it serves.

Only 495 doctoral dissertations in Japan were accepted in the field of education from 1960-1985, and these have concentrated more on theoretical works, educational philosophy, or subject matter rather than on practical applications for school education. This is in contrast to the doctoral dissertation topics in the U.S. According to the data of NCES, 7,700 dissertations were accepted in educational science in the year 1978-1979 in the United States. Among them, 56.5% of the titles are classified as school education; they consist of educational administration (18.3%), the school education system (13%), school subject education (11.3%), method of education (9.9%), student personnel (9.1%), and special education (4%). On the other hand, 19.8% of the titles are classi-

fied in general education and 7.6% are in educational psychology. Hyogo University intends to establish a new doctoral program which focuses on inservice education and aims at establishing a new discipline of school education focusing on school-based education problems.

It is extremely important to establish a system of continuing education in which the roles of universities and educational boards are coordinated and cooperative. We are just beginning to understand that there are different roles universities and educational boards can play to support the continued professional growth of teachers from the beginning through the mature stages of teachers' careers. We need to move from competition among the agencies to the development of a new system of continuing education for teachers.

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# Appendix

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Mitsuo Chonan

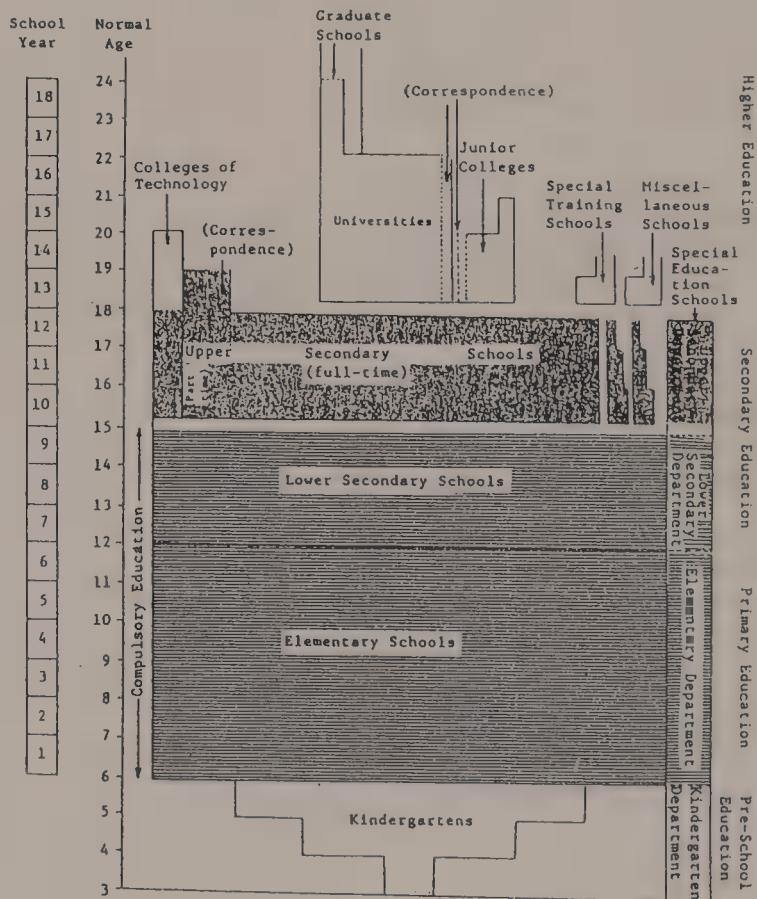


Figure 1. Organization of the present school system.

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Table 1

Comparison of Starting Salaries for College Graduates and With Those Having Worked 10 Years (National and Local Public Service Personnel)

	Work Classification	Salary	Years of Being Employed	National Public Service Personnel	Local Public Ser. Personnel (Chiba)
Administration	General (I)	Basic Salary	Starting Year	157,300	
			After 10 Years	244,800	
		Total Salary Including Common Benefits	Starting Year	157,300	Senior Position
			After 10 Years	244,800	
	General (II)	Basic Salary	Starting Year	143,100	149,900
			After 10 Years	227,300	236,600
		Total Salary Including Common Benefits	Starting Year	143,100	149,900
			After 10 Years	227,300	236,600
Teachers	Elementary and Lower Secondary School	Basic Salary	Starting Year	160,400	167,300
			After 10 Years	235,000	244,400
		Total Salary Including Common Benefits	Starting Salary	173,116	180,592
			After 10 Years	254,100	264,276
	Upper Secondary School	Basic Salary	Starting Salary	160,400	167,300
			After 10 Years	235,000	244,400
		Total Salary Including Common Benefits	Starting Salary	173,116	180,592
			After 10 Years	254,100	264,276
	School for Physical Handicapped or Mental Retarded Children	Basic Salary	Starting Salary	160,400	167,300
			After 10 Years	235,000	244,400
		Total Salary Including Common Benefits	Starting Salary	186,948	194,838
			After 10 Years	272,408	283,148

(Exceptional Case 297,302)

*Note.*

1. A salary for National Public Service Personnel, such as teachers for national agencies and officials for administrative agencies, is regulated by the "Law Concerning Salaries of Employees in the General Governmental Service." The standard salaries are determined by the table of salaries provided by this law. Teacher's salaries in Chiba Prefecture are decided by prefectural regulations in accordance with this law, but they are provided as one class higher than the national standard salaries.

2. Method of calculation of a teacher's monthly salary. (The same method is used for both national and prefectural cases.)

(a) Elementary and junior high school teachers (Salary Table of Educational Personnel: Table 3, Class 2.5) and high school teachers (Salaries of Educational Personnel: Table 2, Class 2.2). The total monthly salary in yen (including benefits) = Basic Salary +

Table 1 continued

Adjusted Salary for Teachers (Basic Salary \* 0.04) + Special Bonus for Compulsory Educators. Starting Salary =  $160,000 + 6,416 + 6,300 = Y173,116$ .

(b) Teachers for physically handicapped or mentally retarded children (Salaries of Educational Personnel: Table 2, Class 2.2). The total monthly salary in yen (including benefits) = Basic Salary + Adjusted Salary for Teachers ([Basic Salary \* 0.03 + 2,104] \* 2) + Special Bonus for Compulsory Educators. Starting Salary =  $160,400 + 6,416 + 13,832 + 6,300 = Y186,948$ .

3. An adjusted allowance (what is called an area allowance: 0%, 3%, or 10% of the basic salary for National Public Service Personnel; 2%-5% of the basic salary for Public Service Personnel in Chiba Prefecture), a dependency allowance, a housing allowance, and a commuting allowance are added to the total monthly salary. Except in the case of work overtime, there are no special allowances added to the salaries of National and General Administrative Public Service Personnel.

4. In addition to their yearly salary (Basic Salary + Adjusted Salary for Teachers), all Public Service Personnel are given a bonus equivalent to 5.35 months' salary (0.55 months' salary in March; 2.2 months' salary in June; and 2.6 months' salary in December). Therefore, they receive 17.35 times their monthly salary in one year.

*Starting Monthly Salary of College Graduates at Large Enterprises  
(As of April, 1991)*

Classification by Industry	Starting Salary	Comparison to the previous	Remarks
Construction Company	190,000 (Yen)	+ 10,000 (Yen)	Five companies surveyed offer a starting salary of Y200,000 or more.
Warehouse Company	187,000	+ 14,000	
Department Store	184,000	+ 11,000	
Average	183,300	+ 9,078	Approximately 50% of the companies offer a starting salary of Y180,000~Y185,000.
Average for Upper Secondary School Graduates	142,700	+ 7,199	
Average for Lower Secondary School Graduates	125,300	+ 5,986	

Table 2

*Comparison of the Standards for the Conferment of Teacher Certificates in the Defunct Law of 1988, the Bill of 1984 and the Revised Law of 1988*

Types of certificate Kinds of subject	Elementary School T.			Lower second. School T.			U. second. School T.		Teacher of spec. School			Kindergarten Teacher			Nurse-Teacher			
	2nd	1st	adv.	2nd	1st	adv.	1st	adv.	2nd	1st	adv.	2nd	1st	adv.	2nd	1st	adv.	
Teaching subjects	DL'88 <sup>1</sup>	8	16		20	40		40	62(22)			8	16					
				16	32		32	52(20)										
	BL'84 <sup>2</sup>	8	16	16	20	40	40	40	40			8	16	16				
Profes. subjects	DL'88	22	32		10	14		14	14			18	28		10	10		
	BL'84	30	44	56(12)	18	22	28(6)	22	22			30	44	56(12)	14	18	18	
	RL'88 <sup>3</sup>	27	41	41	15	19	19	19	19			23	35	35	12	16	16	
Teaching or profes. subjects	DL'88																	
	BL'84		10	22(12)		4	22(18)	4	28(24)				10	22(12)				
	RL'88			24(24)			24(24)		24(24)					24(24)				
Subjects rel. to Spec. Educ.	DL'88									10	20							
	BL'84									14	24	48(24)						
	RL'88									13	23	47(24)						
Subjects related to nursing	DL'88													30	40			
	BL'84													30	40	40		
	RL'88													30	40	40		
Sub. rel. to nursing or prof. subj.	DL'88																	
	BL'84														10	34(24)		
	RL'88															24(24)		
Total	DL'88	30	48		30	54		54	76(22)	10	20		26	44		40	50	
				26	46		46	66(20)										
	BL'84	38	70	94(24)	38	66	90(24)	66	90(24)	14	24	48(24)	38	70	90(24)	44	68	92(24)
	RL'88	37	59	83(24)	35	59	83(24)	59	83(24)	13	23	47(24)	31	51	75(24)	42	56	80(24)

*Note.*

(a) "2nd", "1st" and "advanced" in the section "Types of certificate" are "2nd regular certificate," "1st regular certificate" and "advanced regular certificate."

Types of certificate	Basic qualification for certificates
2nd class	Completion of junior college
1st class	Bachelor's degree
advanced class	Master's degree

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Table 2 continued

(b) <sup>1</sup>DL'88 = the defunct Educational Personnel Certification Law of 1988.  
<sup>2</sup>BL'84 = the Bill of Educational Personnel Certification Law of 1984, that died stillborn.  
<sup>3</sup>RL'89 = the revised Educational Personnel Certification Law of 1988, that came into force on the 1st of April 1989.  
(c) Number of credits in the brace are minimum number of credits to be required newly for the special regular certificates at the master's course.

Table 3

*Minimum Number of Credits for Professional Subjects Required for 1st Class Certificates for Elementary and Lower & Upper Secondary School Teachers: A Comparison of the Old (Defunct) and the New (Revised) Educational Personnel Certification Laws*

Professional subjects			
1st class certificate in the old (defunct) Law (1988)		1st class certificate in the new (revised Law (1989)	
Subjects	Credits	Subjects	Credits
Principles of Education	EST 4 LSST 3 USST 3	Subject related to Substance & Aims of Education	
Educational Psychology & Child Psychology	EST 4	Subject related to Mental & Physical Development of Child & Youth and Process of Learning	EST 12
Educational Psychology & Adolescent Psychology	LSST 3 USST 3	Subject related to Social, institutional & Managerial Affairs of Education	LSST 8 USST 8
		(Subject related to Method & Technology of Education (incl. Practical Uses of Data Processing System and Teaching Materials)	
Study of Teaching Materials	EST 16	Subject related to Method of Subject Teaching	EST 22
Teaching Methods	LSST 3 USST 3	Subject related to Moral Education	LSST 6
Study of Moral Education	EST 2 LSST 2	Subject related to Special Activities	USST 4
Study of Nursery Education	(KGT 12)	Subject related to Curriculum in general	
		Subject related to Nursery Education	(KGT 18)
		Subject related to Child Guidance	

Table 3 continued

Professional subjects			
1st class certificate in the old (defunct) Law (1988)		1st class certificate in the new (revised Law (1989)	
Subjects	Credits	Subjects	Credits
		Subject related to Student Guidance & Educational Counseling	EST 2
		Subject related to Guidance, Educational Course- Choice of Students	LSST 2 USST 2
Teaching Practice	EST 4 LSST 2 USST 2	Teaching Practice	EST 5 LSST 3 USST 3
Electives	EST 2 LSST 1 USST 1	Electives	USST 2
Total	EST 32 LSST 14 USST 14	Total	EST 41 LSST 19 USST 19
Minimum number of credits that are required more for special class certificates in the revised Law		Subjects related to Teaching Subjects or Professional Subjects (in Graduate Course)	(EST 24) (LSST 24) (USST 24)

*Note.*

EST = Elementary school teacher,  
USST = Upper Secondary school teacher,

LSST = Lower secondary school teacher,  
KGT = Kindergarten Teacher.

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Table 4

*A Summary of Inservice Teacher Training Organized by the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture at the Elementary and Lower Secondary School Levels (1991)*

Categories of Inservice Teacher Training	System of Life-Long Inservice Teacher Training			
Inservice Training for Newly Appointed Teachers	Inservice Training for Beginning Teachers	All Beginning Teachers of ES and LSS, A Part of Teachers of USS and HS	1 Year	P,C
Inservice Training for Newly Appointed Teachers	General Inservice Teacher Training	All Newly Appointed Teachers of USS and SES	10 days	P,C
Inservice Training on Instructional Techniques	Inservice Training for Newly Appointed Teachers of Health Education	All Newly Appointed Teachers of KG, USS and SES	10 days	P,C
Inservice Training for Newly Appointed Teachers of Health Education	Inservice Training for Newly Appointed School Nurses	All Newly Appointed School Nurses	Out-Sch. 5 days Lodging 4 days	P,C
Inservice Training for Newly Appointed School Dietitians	Inservice Training for Experienced Teachers	All Five Years Experienced Teachers of ES, LSS, USS and SES	6 days	P,C
Inservice Training for Head Teachers	Inservice Training for Newly Appointed Heads of Educational Affairs in ES, LSS, USS, and SES	Teachers of KG, ES, LSS, USS and SES	6 weeks	M
Inservice Training for Newly Appointed Heads (Teachers) of Educational Affairs		Newly Appointed Heads of Educational Affairs in ES, LSS, USS, and SES	6 days	P,C

Table 4 continued

Categories of Inservice Teacher Training					
Inservice Training for School Principals and Others	Teachers of KG, ES, LSS, USS and SES, Educational Supervisors	1~4 weeks		① M ② M&P	
Inservice Training for Teachers with Special Educational Duties					
Inservice Training for Newly Appointed Teachers with Special Educational Classes	All Newly Appointed Teachers with Special Educational Classes in ES and LSS	5 days	P,C		
Inservice Training for Teachers of Subjects outside the Scope of the Teacher Certificate	LSS Teachers of Subjects outside the Scope of the Teacher Certificate	3 days	P,C		
Inservice Training for the Purpose of Improving Leadership Qualities					
Aspects of Leadership					
Overall Educational Curriculum					
Research Seminars for Educational Curriculum	Teachers of KG, ES, LSS, USS and SES	2 days	① M ② M&P		
Short Intensive Study Courses on the Guidelines laid down by Min. of Edu.	All Teachers of ES, LSS, USS and SES	4~6 days			
Lectures on the Improvement of Curriculum Management	All Teachers of KG	6 days	M&P		
Courses includes within the Curriculum					
Educational Lectures*1	Teachers of ES, LSS, USS and SES	1~3 days	① M		
Seminars*2		3-27 days	② M&P ③ U&P		
Leadership Training Lectures*3	Educational Supervisors and Others	1-40 days	① M ② M&P		

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Table 4 continued

Categories of Inservice Teacher Training		Teachers of LSS, USS and SES		3-12 Mon.	Univ.
	Inland Study Teachers* <sup>4</sup>				
Seven Additional Types of Short Seminars					
Inservice Training related to Student Guidance					
Courses for Student Guidance Supervisors				2 months	M
Lectures on Guidance for LSS and USS Students		Teachers of LSS and USS		2 weeks	M&P
Lectures on Counseling Skills				2~4 weeks	① M ② M&P
Lectures on Careers and Academic Guidance					① Uni. ② P
Research Seminars on Physically Mentally Handicapped Schoolchildren		Members of the Committee for School Entrance (Teachers, Doctors and Social Welfare Personnel)		2~5 days	① M ② P
Inservice Training for Overseas Assignments				3 days	① M ② M&P
Inservice Training for Teachers being dispatched on Overseas Assignments		Teachers of KG, ES, LSS, USS and SES			① 30 days ② 16 days ③ 2 mon.
Inservice Training for English Language Teachers		English Language Teachers of LSS and USS		2, 6 or 12 months	P,C
Inservice Training for various Overseas Studies of Education for the Multiple-Handicapped		SES Teachers		3 months	Teacher-Self
Encouragement of Independent Research Activities		Teacher Groups		one year	Teacher Groups
Promotion of Educational Research Groups					

Table 4 continued

Categories of Inservice Teacher Training		Nationalwide Educational Research Groups	Nationalwide Educational Research Groups	one year	Na. Edu. Groups
	Prefectural Educational Research Groups	Prefectural Educational Research Groups	one year	Pre. Ed. Groups	
<b>Inservice Training for School Secretaries</b>					
Inservice Training for Elementary and Lower Secondary School Secretaries	Elementary School and Lower Secondary School Secretaries		2 weeks	M	
Inservice Training Lectures for School Secretaries	Upper Secondary School and Special Education School Secretaries		3 weeks	M	

*Note.*

1. Regarding the Above-mentioned Inservice Training, it is sponsored by the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture or entrusted to Prefectural and (or) Designated Municipal Boards of Education that receive funding from the Ministry of Education but may act independently to jointly implement the Inservice Training. However, the Inservice Training may also be carried out individually by Prefectural or Designated Municipal Boards of Education, and Local Boards of Education. Furthermore, individual teachers and groups of teachers may also conduct their own independent Inservice Training.

2. Under the column entitled "Main Organizing Body," "the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture" is the sponsoring body for the Inservice Training while "the Prefectural Board of Education, Designated Municipal Boards of Education" are entrusted with the implementation of Inservice Training by the Ministry of Education. Furthermore, "the Ministry of Education and Prefectural Boards of Education" indicate that the Inservice Training is carried out in conjunction with each other.

3. ES = Elementary Schools, LSS = Lower Secondary Schools, SES = Special Education Schools, KG = Kindergartens, U = Universities. M = Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, P = Prefectural Boards of Education, C = Designated Municipal Board of Education.

\*1This includes lectures on Lower Secondary School Social Studies, Science and Modern Technology.

\*2This includes lectures on establishing administrative guidelines for those in charge of Moral Education and seminars for teachers of Special Subjects.

\*3This includes Inservice Training lectures for Lower Secondary School English Language Teachers and lectures on Special Education Guidance.

\*4This includes Inservice Training in Lower Secondary School skills and special techniques in Home Economics, in addition to lectures giving guidance on practical skills in Home Economics and New Subjects at the Upper Secondary School Level.

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Table 5.1  
*An Outline of the Provisions for the One-Year Inservice Training Program for Beginning Teachers  
 (Elementary and Lower Secondary Schools, 1991)*

Basic Knowledge	Classroom Management	Subject Guidance	Moral Education	Special Activities	Student Guidance
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Current Conditions &amp; Problems in School Education (1)</li> <li>○ Goals of School Education</li> <li>○ The Ideal Behavior for Teachers &amp; Public Officials</li> <li>○ Teachers' Mental Attitude</li> <li>○ Education on Anti-Discrimination</li> <li>○ School Educ., Health, Safety Enhancing Guidance on Health &amp; Hygiene</li> <li>○ Enhancing Guidance on Food Preparation</li> <li>○ Education on Anti-Discrimination</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ The Meaning of Classroom Management</li> <li>○ Creating Measures for Clsm Management</li> <li>○ Ways of Organizing the Clsm</li> <li>○ Enhancing 1st Year Clsm Administration</li> <li>○ Enhancing the Parents' Assoc</li> <li>○ Enhancing the Clsm Environment</li> <li>○ Enhancing Home Visits</li> <li>○ Enhancing Guidance for Clsm Groups</li> <li>○ Preparing Report Cards</li> <li>○ Evaluation of Clsm Management for 1st Term</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Writing Guidance Proposals &amp; Weekly Plans</li> <li>Basic Skills in Subject Guid.</li> <li>Clsm Observation &amp; Implementation (1)</li> <li>Understanding Schoolchildren in the Clsm</li> <li>Clsm Observation &amp; Implementation (2)</li> <li>○ Methods &amp; Practice of Educational Materials Rsch</li> <li>Clsm Observation &amp; Implementation (3)</li> <li>Enhancing Clsm Teaching (1)</li> <li>Methods of Composing &amp; Evaluating Tests</li> <li>Enhancing of Educational Materials Rsch</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ The Meaning of Moral Educ.</li> <li>○ Enhancing Moral Educ. (1)</li> <li>Contents &amp; Methods of Instruction</li> <li>Clsm Observation &amp; Implementation (1)</li> <li>Understanding Schoolchildren &amp; their Actual Conditions</li> <li>Skills of Group Guidance</li> <li>Group &amp; Individual Guidance</li> <li>○ Teacher-Student Relationship</li> <li>Praising &amp; Scolding Schoolchildren</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ School Education &amp; Special Activities Overall Plan for Special Activities Enhancing Clsm Activities</li> <li>○ The Meaning &amp; Practice of Career &amp; Academic Guidance</li> </ul>	<p><i>First Term</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Guidance in the Shaping of Student Attitudes</li> <li>○ Understanding Schoolchildren Methods of Understanding Schoolchildren &amp; their Actual Conditions</li> </ul>

Table 5.1 continued

Basic Knowledge	Classroom Management	Subject Guidance	Moral Education	Special Activities	Student Guidance
○ Inservice Training Through Practical Experience	○ Diagnosis of Classroom Management	○ Practical Applications of Subject Guidance & Educational Apparatus ○ Analysis & Diagnosis of Clsrm Teaching	○ Analysis & Diagnosis of Teaching	○ The Essentials of Guidance for Special Activities ○ The Practice of Guidance for Residential Groups	○ Enhancing the Understanding & Guidance of Problem Behavior ○ Enhancing Educational Counselling
○ Enhancing Educational Personnel ○ Current Conditions & Problems in School Education (2) ○ Understanding Physically & Mentally Handicapped Children ○ Organization of Study Courses & Educational Curricula ○ Organization & Structuring of Schools Ideal Internal	○ Classroom Management Plan for 2nd Term ○ Guidance for Clsrm Groups ○ Clsrm Management & Organization of Academic Year Methods of Participating in Annual School Meetings Creating Clsrm Communication Enhancing Interviews With Parents Evaluation of Clsrm Management for 2nd Term	○ Enhancing Clsrm Teaching Clsrm Observation & Implementation (4) ○ Enhancing Individual Elements of Instruction Individual & Group Collective Guidance ○ The Essentials of Instructional Guidance & Evaluation Clsrm Observation & Implementation (6) Use of Educational Apparatus Clsrm Observations & Implementation (6)	○ Enhancing Moral Educ. (2) Clsrm Observation & Implementation (2)	○ Enhancing School Events Guidance Practice for School Events Guidance Practice for Children's & Students' Committees Activities Guidance Practice for Club & Circle Activities	○ Enhancing Student Guidance for the Entire Local Area ○ The Meaning & Practice of Student Guidance ○ Enhancing of Individual Guidance Research Into Samples of Problem Behavior Enhancing Educational Counselling School Student Guidance Structure Enhancing of Individual
Summer Vacation	Second Term	Second Term	Second Term	Second Term	Second Term

Table 5.1 continued

Basic Knowledge	Classroom Management	Subject Guidance	Moral Education	Special Activities	Student Guidance
Structure for Schools Setting Up the School Educational Environment & Structuring & Administering the PTA	Methods of Producing & Applying Educational Materials & Eqptn Clsm Observation & Implementation (7)				Guidance
○ Enhancing Practical Research ○ Inservice Teacher Training & Personal Development Inservice Training Within the School Confines ○ Announcement of Results for the One-Year Practical Program	Clsm Management Plan for 3rd Term Methods of Conducting End of year Classroom Administration Evaluation of Clsm Management for 1st Year & Creating a Plan for the Following Year	○ Producing Guidance Plans for the Year Clsm Observation & Implementation (8)	○ Producing a Guidance Plan for Moral Education Clsm Observation & Implementation (3)	○ Producing a Guidance Plan for Moral Education & Clsm Observation & Implementation (9)	○ Producing a Guidance Plan for Moral Education & Clsm Observation & Implementation (10)

*Note.*

The items preceded by the symbol "○" take place outside of the school whereas all the others take place internally.

Table 5.2  
*An Outline of the Provisions for the One-Year Inservice Training Program for Beginning Teachers  
 (Upper Secondary Schools, 1991)*

Basic Knowledge	Homeroom Management	Subject Guidance	Special Activities	Student Guidance
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Current Conditions &amp; Problems in School Education (1)</li> <li>○ Goals of School Education</li> <li>○ The Ideal Behavior for Teachers &amp; Public Officials</li> <li>○ Education on Anti-Discrimination</li> <li>○ The Meaning of Moral Education</li> <li>○ Enhancing Moral Education (1)</li> <li>○ School Education, Health &amp; Safety</li> <li>○ Enhancing Guidance on Health &amp; Hygiene</li> <li>○ Enhancing Guidance on Food Preparation</li> <li>○ Education on Anti-Discrimination</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ The Meaning of Homeroom Management</li> <li>○ Creating Measures for Homeroom Management</li> <li>○ Ways of Organizing the Homeroom</li> <li>○ Enhancing 1st Year Homeroom Admin.</li> <li>○ Enhancing the Parents' Association</li> <li>○ Enhancing the Classroom Environment</li> <li>○ Enhancing the Home Visits</li> <li>○ Enhancing Guidance for Homeroom Groups</li> <li>○ Preparing Report Cards</li> <li>○ Evaluation of Classroom Management for 1st Term</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Writing Guidance Proposals &amp; Weekly Plans</li> <li>○ Basic Skills in Subject Guidance</li> <li>○ Classroom Observation &amp; Implementation (1)</li> <li>○ Understanding Schoolchildren in the Classroom</li> <li>○ Classroom Observation &amp; Implementation (2)</li> <li>○ Methods &amp; Practice of Educational Materials Research</li> <li>○ Enhancing Educational Materials Research</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ School Education &amp; Special Activities</li> <li>○ Overall Plan for Special Activities</li> <li>○ Enhancing Homeroom Activities (1)</li> <li>○ The Meaning of Career &amp; Academic Guidance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Guidance in the Shaping of Student Attitudes</li> <li>○ Understanding Students Methods of Understanding Students &amp; their Actual Conditions</li> <li>○ Skills of Group Guidance Group &amp; Individual Guidance</li> <li>○ Teacher-Student Relationship</li> <li>○ Praising &amp; Reprimanding Students</li> </ul>

First Term

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*Japanese Teacher Education, Part I*

Table 5.2 continued

Basic Knowledge	Homeroom Management	Subject Guidance	Special Activities	Student Guidance
○ Inservice Training Through Practical Experience  Summer Vacation	○ Diagnosis of Homeroom Management  ○ Practical Applications of Subject Guidance & Educational Apparatus ○ Analysis & Diagnosis of Classroom Teaching	○ The Essentials of Guidance for Special Activities ○ The Practice of Guidance for Residential Groups	○ Enhancing the Understanding & Guidance of Problem Behavior ○ Enhancing Educational Counselling	○ Enhancing Student Guidance for the Entire Local Area ○ The Meaning & Practice of Student Guidance ○ Enhancing of Individual Guidance
○ Enhancing Educational Personnel ○ Current Conditions & Problems in School Education (2) Enhancing Moral Education (2) ○ Understanding Physically & Mentally Handicapped Children ○ Organization of Study Courses & Educational Curricula ○ Organization & Management of Schools	Homeroom Management Plan for 2nd Term ○ Guidance for Homeroom Groups ○ Homeroom Management & Organization of Academic Year Methods of Participating in Annual School Meetings Creating Homeroom Communication Enhancing Interviews with Parents Evaluation of Homeroom Management Second Term Ideal Internal Structure for Schools Setting Up the School Educational Environment Structuring & Administering the PTA	Enhancing Classroom Teaching (2) Classroom Observation & Implementation (4) ○ Enhancing Individual Elements of Instruction Developing Classroom Teaching Proficiency—Individual & Group Collective Guidance ○ The Essentials of Instructional Guidance & Evaluation Classroom Observation & Implementation (5) Use of Educational Apparatus Classroom Observation & Implementation (6) Methods of Producing & Applying Educational Materials & Equipment	○ Enhancing Homeroom Activities (2) Guidance Practice for School Events Guidance Practice for Students' Committees Activities Guidance Practice for Club & Circle Activities Enhancing Career & Academic Guidance Guidance Practice for Students' Committees Activities	○ Research Into Samples of Problem Behavior Enhancing Educational Counselling School Student Guidance Structure Enhancing of Individual Structure
Second Term				Classroom Observation & Implementation (7)

Table 5.2 continued

	Basic Knowledge	Homeroom Management	Subject Guidance	Special Activities	Student Guidance
<i>Third Term</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Enhancing Practical Research</li> <li>○ Inservice Teacher Training &amp; Personal Development</li> <li>Inservice Training Within the School Confines</li> <li>○ Announcement of Results for the One-Year Practical Program</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Homeroom Management Plan for 3rd Term</li> <li>Methods of Conducting End of Year Homeroom Administration</li> <li>Evaluation of Homeroom Management for 1st Year &amp; Creating a Plan for the Following Year</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Producing Plans of Guidance for the Year Classroom Observation &amp; Implementation (8)</li> <li>Classroom Observation &amp; Implementation (9)</li> <li>Enhancing Teaching Research</li> <li>Classroom Observation &amp; Implementation (10)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Consideration &amp; Evaluation of Special Activities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Consideration &amp; Evaluation of Student Guidance</li> </ul>

*Note.*

The items preceded by the symbol "○" take place outside of the school whereas all the others take place internally.



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# Japanese Teacher Education, Part II

Issue Editors:  
Tetsuya Kobayashi  
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Peabody Journal of Education

Volume 68, Number 4, Summer 1993





# PEABODY JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

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# Introduction

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*Tetsuya Kobayashi*

*Carolyn A. Hawley*

*Willis D. Hawley*

This issue of the *Peabody Journal of Education* is the second part of a two-part issue on the education of Japanese teachers. Part I—with articles by Tetsuya Kobayashi (Kyoto University); Sho Takakura (University of Tsukuba); Yasushi Mizoue and Wataru Inoue (Hiroshima University); Mankichi Shiina and Mitsuo Chonan (Chiba University); Masaaki Hayo (Tokyo Gakugei University); Masato Tanaka, Takamichi Uesugi, and Yutaka Shiraishi (Kyoto University); Arthur King (University of Hawaii) and Yasushi Mizoue (Hiroshima University); and Akira Tokuyama (Hyogo University of Teacher Education)—dealt with current trends of teacher education reform in Japan and the teacher education system in Japan.

The articles in Part II of this special issue deal with teaching methods and curricula in Japanese teacher education, and Japanese teacher education in transition—its characteristics and culture. To aid the reader in understanding the main structure and patterns in Japanese teacher education, an Appendix (included in Part I) provides a summary description of the role different institutions play in preservice teacher preparation and in Japan's unique approach to enhancing teachers' professional development during their first year on the job.

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These articles are the work of scholars who have been participating in the Japan-United States Teacher Education Consortium (JUSTEC). With one exception, these articles are authored or co-authored by professors from Japanese universities.

# A Philosophical Approach to the "Knowledge Base" in Teacher Education: Recognizing the Element of Uncertainty in Teaching

---

*Takahisa Ichimura*

## Part One: The Importance of Personal Knowledge

### *The Aim of Discussion*

Among other types of knowledge that should be developed in teacher education should be knowledge related to the ability of teachers to intuitively understand "the internal world" of their personal life—their "personal knowledge." I would like to begin by giving one example of a student-teacher's experience identified by Professor Yoshimatsu Shibata. One of his student-teachers observed:

What I benefited most from the current teaching practice was not any of those teaching techniques I had acquired, but the increased awareness of the necessity for enriching the teacher's internal world. I found my students much more critically observant of their teachers than I had expected. They feel greatly disappointed in us the moment they detect a lack of confidence. Therefore, in order not to let them down, I realized that we teachers must try to enrich ourselves. (Shibata, 1985, p. 2)

Professor Shibata commented on these remarks as follows:

The essential aspect of education is well observed and recognized by the sensitive eyes of the student-teacher. It must have been a very

valuable experience for him to have become aware of the pressing need on the part of the teachers to learn and enrich themselves before they start teaching. (1985, p. 3)

Professor Shibata's views are shared by many who are concerned with teacher education in Japan, and there are a number of fully qualified teachers as well as student-teachers who must have more or less realized this. This is nothing but the reflection of the unseen world through one's intuitive experience. Thus, this particular area which the student-teacher personally experienced implicitly reinforces the professional quality of the teacher. This area, therefore, should be regarded as one of the factors which constitutes the knowledge base of teacher education.

The degree of the teacher's internal enrichment is closely related to the total amount of knowledge, either academic or professional, but it is more closely linked with the personal experiences and events which constitute the teacher's individual life. This is not something one can acquire through a rational or a logical inquiry. This is something intuitively acquired through the accumulation of personal experience; what it amounts to is intuitively gained personal wisdom. Moreover, if this personal knowledge is theorized or generalized formally, it no longer remains personal knowledge and begins functioning as a mere set of codes.

Personal qualities of the teacher, such as trust, acceptance, tolerance, or sympathy towards the learner (which are personal resources required for the teacher), also constitute important mental attitudes. For this reason, these qualities can scarcely be taught through logic alone. This is the area which involves personal knowledge relating to the enrichment of the teacher's internal world. In other words, these attitudinal qualities of the teacher, such as trust or acceptance, are based on the teacher's personal knowledge. These mental attitudes should be regarded as knowledge that is indispensable to the formation of the essential pedagogical atmosphere of the classroom, and that enhances the teaching of the subject matter content as well. Teachers' personal knowledge is essential to the ability of teachers to help their students develop and use their personal knowledge.

#### *The Recognition of the Learner's Personal Knowledge in Classroom Teaching*

The knowledge which is based on the learner's personal life is not given as much importance as it deserves in the majority of both private and public schools, at least in Japan. Even if it is taken into account, it is

often the case that the learner's knowledge is not included in the general theory of classroom teaching. This means that although the intellectual growth (the ability to infer given knowledge or to decode signs) of the learner is taken into consideration, the target of the teaching and its contents based on the prescribed syllabus (for a given class or a series of classes) tends to be presupposed regardless of the learner's knowledge, although it is not completely disregarded.

The promotion of modern rationalism in school education is symbolically reflected in the general theory of classroom teaching, and more objective and scientific classroom teaching or learning has been developed and particularly reinforced by the influence of cognitive psychology. This should not be one-sidedly disputed, but as a result of this movement we have to admit that the learner's personal knowledge has been disregarded and appropriate measures have not been taken to cope with the situation. The first step to meet this situation is to recognize the significance of personal life, or "me-ism," from the viewpoint of post-modernism.

According to the survey on people's social awareness conducted by the Prime Minister's Office (quoted from the morning edition of the *Asahisinpun*, June 11, 1989), "The percentage of those who regard themselves as being self-centered increased from 43.1% in 1987 to 48.8%, which has been the largest increase since this survey started in 1975." This change in figures has often been interpreted as a reflection of the anti-social attitude caused by a lack of social responsibility. On the contrary, it should be positively interpreted as a sign of the growing necessity for the social recognition of knowledge which is based on personal life.

This is related to the idea of attaching the same degree of importance to personal knowledge of the learner in classroom teaching as objective knowledge, like general rules or concepts. Thus, placing a high value on personal knowledge calls for the knowledge regarding the system of teaching and learning to serve as a base, and regarding the personal growth of the learner's emotional stability as highly as that of the learner's cognitive or intellectual ability.

The reader may be tempted to ask again at this point what personal knowledge involves. By way of answering this question, let me quote the following two insightful views. Professor Michael Polanyi noted:

I started as a person intellectually fashioned by a particular idiom, acquired through my affiliation to a civilization that prevailed in the places where I had grown up, at this particular period of history. This has been the matrix of all my intellectual efforts. Within it I was to find

my problem and seek the terms for its solution. All my amendments to these original terms will remain embedded in the system of my previous beliefs. (1962, p. 252)

He further comments on avoiding the danger of personal knowledge being unrestrained (creating an ethical vacuum in human relationships): "In so far as the personal submits to requirements acknowledged by itself as independent of itself, it is not subjective" (1962, p. 300). Based on this concept of personal knowledge, it seems that the development of the learner's ability to closely observe himself should be ensured in the process of classroom teaching.

*Intuitive Knowledge as Knowledge Base:  
The Meaning of Mutual Trust in Classroom Teaching*

The remainder of Part One of this article focuses on intuitive knowledge involving "trust," which is the basic condition of classroom teaching, and discusses the validity of mental attitudes constituting one area of the knowledge base for teacher education. Professor Lee S. Shulman, in a discussion on the formulation of a knowledge base in teaching, claims:

The key to distinguishing the knowledge base of teaching lies at the intersection of content and pedagogy, in the capacity of a teacher to transform the content knowledge he or she possesses into forms that are pedagogically powerful and yet adaptive to the variations in ability and background presented by the students. (1987, p. 15)

Based on the theories of cognitive psychology, Shulman relies on the concept of "transformation" to account for the bridging between individual and common forms. He classifies the process of transformation into the following stages:

(1) preparation (of the given text materials) including the process of critical interpretation; (2) representation of the ideas in the form of new analogies, metaphors, and so forth; (3) instructional selections from among an array of teaching methods and models; (4) adaptation of these representations to the general characteristics of the children to be taught; as well as (5) tailoring the adaptations to the specific youngsters in the classroom. (1987, p. 16)

From what can be inferred from this quotation, the key expression which accounts for the concept of "transformation" observed in the process of "teaching" in the classroom seems to be "adaptation." The

issue converges on the recognition of "knowledge" which accounts for the relationship of adaptation to the learner. Whether or not the theory of "adaptation" is approved depends on the intervention of personal knowledge as long as individual knowledge is explained in the context of it being adapted to universal knowledge. This is important. The most unappreciated areas in the process of classroom teaching are the relations implied by concepts such as "transformation" or "adaptation," and these relations cannot be either fully systematized or theorized.

If we are to attempt to raise the individualized knowledge of the learner to the generalized one, what is involved in "transformation" or "adaptation" should be intuitively grasped first and be described later through an interpretative approach. In the formation of classroom teaching, if a high value is placed on the learner's individual knowledge, instead of it being neglected, and "transformation" or "adaptation" is to be substantiated, the trust of an individual learner on the part of the teacher is of great importance. What does it mean to increase pedagogical effect along the lines earlier described, assuming that the teacher proceeds with the teaching of the subject related knowledge with special pedagogical consideration of the individual learner's intellectual background? Regardless of the type of classroom teaching, a prerequisite for increasing pedagogical effect is the implicit "promise" between the teacher who sets the target of teaching and the learner who is to achieve it. The basic condition for fulfilling this kind of "promise" is nothing but the mutual trust between the teacher and the learner.

The relationship between what is individual and what is universal in the process of teaching cannot necessarily be explained by the concepts of either "transformation" or "adaptation." As Shulman explains:

These forms of transformation, these aspects of the process wherein one moves from personal comprehension to preparing for the comprehension of others, are the essence of the act of pedagogical reasoning, of teaching as thinking, and of planning—whether explicitly or implicitly—the performance of teaching. (1987, p. 16)

Thus, the process of transforming knowledge from personal understanding to knowledge for others involves, according to Professor Shulman, an intellectual and reasonable act of examining and critically interpreting the content and pedagogy of instruction. Mutual trust in the classroom, which is one aspect of successful understanding, is a powerful factor in explaining the real meaning of "transformation."

I wonder, however, which characteristics of the learner will be adapted? Personal knowledge, which is difficult to intellectually structure or systematize, and implicit knowledge, gained through intuitive

understanding, are also essential elements of the knowledge base for teaching.

## Part Two: Recognizing the Element of Uncertainty in Teaching

### *The Question at Issue: Classroom Work Through One's Body*

Controlled and closed bodies; inflexible space in a classroom which never comes in contact; language which has lost the power to evoke imagination; classroom teaching and learning which takes its course prompted by the verbal exchange of messages which never seem to get across. (Tanigawa, Inagaki, Takeuchi, & Sato, 1989, p. 2)

This quotation is from a presentation by Professor Manabu Sato at Tokyo University, one of the members of the Japan-United States Teacher Education Consortium. It was quoted from the preface of the class observation report of *The Teaching of Japanese in the Classroom*, issued by the Teachers' Association of the Japanese Language Education under the joint guidance of Professor Tadahiko Inagaki at Tokyo University.

The linguistic material used in this classroom study is found in the book entitled *The Japanese Language*, (1989) edited by Shuntaro Tanigawa, Makoto Ohoka, Mitsumasa Anno, and Choku Matsui. Specifically, the poem "Language and Body" was used:

Go out in the school playground and,  
Say, "The sky," as you look up to the sky.  
Say, "The wind," as you run about,  
Making believe that you're a wind.  
How do you feel, I wonder?  
  
Language springs out from inside your body.  
Stand by the tree,  
And feel for the word tree inside your body.  
Your feet become its roots,  
Your body its stems,  
Your hands become its branches and leaves.  
Weak voices, loud voices,  
High voices, low voices,  
Say, "Trees" in whichever voice you like.  
Don't you feel as if you became woods?  
(Tanigawa, Ohoka, Anno, & Matsui, 1989,  
pp. 96-97)

The actual classroom teaching was conducted in a class of junior grade students of elementary school and their classroom work was centered around the interpretation of the implied meaning of the poem. The aim of this class, which teachers had earlier agreed on, was to help the students realize that there is always a feeling behind language and that language develops from inside one's body. In the process of examining the poem, the teachers and students were prompted by the heart of the poem to go to the school playground and repeat, "The sky," while looking up to the real blue sky.

The classroom observation report involving the teaching of the poem "Language and Body" was presented by three teachers and it was followed by comments from participants and advisers. All the comments were sent to Shuntaro Tanigawa, one of the editors of *The Japanese Language* which contains the poem. He comments that in the process of classroom teaching and learning, feeling something in one's body so as to think represents an uncertain area which can physically never be seen. This area should be reaffirmed as "knowledge," and needs to be recognized within the field of teacher education as one of the major factors that compose an individual's knowledge base. Tanigawa's comments:

Human beings actually see the real sky before learning the word sky, but without knowing how to describe it in language, it would be impossible to distinguish the sky from something else. At the same time, even without the knowledge of the expression sky, it is agreed that we have the heart and body which makes us react to those mysterious wide open spaces above us, and this interactive process reflects an act of living or reality of life, which has eventually endowed us with the gift of language.

Even after learning how to refer to the sky, it is possible for us to recall in our mind the heart and the body movements of those days when we had no idea of what the sky was called. Unless we are able to do this, language no longer functions as it should and ends up being a mere set of signs. Relabeling objects around us with one's heart and body, i.e., recreating language within oneself by removing the coating of conventional meaning which human society has put on, is what is primarily meant by the acquisition of language. This is how language revives and survives.

The classroom observation report involving the handling of the poem "Language and Body," quoted from *The Japanese Language*, has made it clear that what the teacher should have done was more than

merely getting the students to look at the real sky and say "sky." He could have encouraged the students to reflect on what they were thinking about or how they were feeling at the moment of looking up to the sky. He could have also prompted them to describe it the way they liked in addition to using the familiar expression sky. *He could have even let them all simply keep looking up to the sky without saying a word and this may well have been worth attempting* [italics added]. (Tanigawa, Inagaki, Takeuchi, & Sato, 1989, pp. 114-115)

The aim of those teachers who are the members of the Teachers' Association of Japanese Language Education is the creation of classroom teaching through which "language shall be brought to life" or "children shall be brought to life." This type of classroom teaching, which can be described as "classroom teaching which brings . . . to life," can hardly be seen to serve its purpose if there is a separation and/or a differentiation of heart and body and if knowledge is provided only through language.

This has been echoed by Professor Kyo Kobayashi in his paper entitled *Language, Body, and Transcendence* (1989), in which Alain and Merleau-Ponty are quoted. It is also reflected in Shuntaro Tanigawa's statements above. All claim the need for the essential knowledge of the heart and body to be incorporated in current and future teacher education.

As Alain states, "True language will echo in one's body, not in one's mind; rather, it will indirectly reach one's mind" (*Propos De Literature*, 1963, p. 22). Merleau-Ponty says that "Language is an instance which is realized through one's body before it serves as a concept marker (1945/1974, p. 49). The word "stiff," for instance, is recognized as a particular feeling associated with one's stiff back or stiff shoulder (Kobayashi, 1989, p. 267).

These quotations, which might appear redundant, have been referred to not because our immediate concern is to elucidate the act of education or to validate the educational theory of identifying mind as body, but because the educational ideas reflected in all these quotations need to be recognized as a knowledge base for all those committed to the teaching profession. It is the knowledge of teachers' uncertainty that is essential to the recognition of the area of intuition, and not the kind of knowledge pursued through either intellectual understanding or rational reasoning.

### *Uncertainty in Understanding Students*

*Teacher-Student Relationships: Causes and Consequences* (1974), by Jere E. Brophy and Thomas L. Good, focuses on the improvement of teacher

education, both preservice and inservice teacher training, from the viewpoint of teacher-student relationships. Based on empirical studies, it has many insightful suggestions. As is implied in its subtitle, their major argument is that teacher-student relationships should be viewed in terms of causes and consequences and that the teacher's attitudes or expectations will greatly affect the mutual interactive relationships between them. In the quote below, Brophy and Good discuss teacher expectation effects:

Where teacher expectations have been inappropriate and rigid, students' classroom behavior and achievement levels will deviate from predictions based on past performance. Where expectations are inappropriately and rigidly high, the student will probably have many more than his share of interactions with the teacher during the year and will receive a great deal of encouragement and cajoling from the teacher. However, *the teacher will be continually pushing him beyond his capacities and consequently he will often experience feelings of failure* [italics added]. Depending on the relative frequency and strengths of the former and latter factors, this student might achieve at higher than expected levels (if teacher determination and high expectations outweigh the frustrations associated with failure) or lower than expected levels (if he becomes so frustrated and anxious that he performs below his capacity despite the extra attention from the teacher). Even if he does better than expected, however, it may be at the cost of higher anxiety or other undesirable side effects.

If the teacher's expectations are inappropriately and rigidly low, the student will have fewer interactions with the teacher, will get less praise and more criticism than his classmates receive in comparable situations, and will be likely to experience generally half-hearted teaching in which the teacher attempts to teach him less material and is less persistent in teaching him the material that he does teach. For his part the student will be likely to experience ego devaluation and a general sense of frustration and failure, leading him to withdraw increasingly from classroom participation and to begin to give up easily on his work assignments. End-of-the-year test results will likely show that this student achieved significantly less than would have been expected on the basis of his past performance. (Brophy & Good, 1974, p. 40)

In support of this model, Brophy and Good utilize a basic model of causes and consequences. They attempt to generalize teacher-student relationships which govern classroom teaching. While this is a significant study, this approach is most likely to result in a lack of consideration

for the personal knowledge of individual students. Examining the italicized portion of the above quotation raises the question as to whether it is really likely that teacher expectations, when they are higher than student capacities (cause), will bring the student a feeling of failure (consequence). We all know and agree from our experience that there are, of course, occasions in which the student ends up being in a situation like this, but on the other hand, there can be opposite situations in which the student is encouraged and gains confidence. The individuality of each student, either physical or mental, can generate a positive reaction which we would least expect. This implies that the question of the personal growth of individual students is a hindrance to the generalization of student learning. M. J. Langeveld, the founder of "Anthropologie des kindes," developed the phenomenological approach to interpret the specific world of individual children. Regarding "human relations in education," he warns that we are in danger of falling into a trap of "depersonalization" or "dehumanization" caused by growing interest in studies of generalized human beings. Langeveld explains:

In the place of man came generalities. The place of knowledge became identified with induction on the basis of collecting the specimen of the class in order to develop one generalization—say a specimen of flowers, a specimen of animals away from the individual up into the generalization. This individual human person is nothing but an intersection of completely general categories, says contemporary science calling itself psychology, and in its name is speaking such an intersection of general categories named I think. So dehumanization, reduction to generality, elimination of this child, this specific person is a basic characteristic of western thinking. Part of our history then is the battle against this nightmare; no person, a generality. (1974, p. 15)

The recognition of the importance of the student's personal knowledge in the classroom suggests that the student's academic achievements should not be evaluated only in the light of adducible recognition; intuition closely related to the individual's body itself should be taken into account only because it has the element of uncertainty. And this aspect should be seen as one of the most important elements of an individual's knowledge base and should be recognized by all those who are in teacher education.

#### *Recognition of Uncertainty in "Teaching"*

There have been innumerable studies on the knowledge base for teacher education, but they are mostly concerned with the pursuit of

certainty of objective principles or methodologies in "teaching." Recently a study of uncertainty in teaching was discussed in the paper called *Preparing Teachers for Uncertainty* (1988) by R. E. Floden and C. M. Clark of Michigan University. There has been a great deal of discussion and debate on uncertainty in teaching, but there have been virtually no publications on this subject other than theirs. While I am not in full agreement with their claim, theirs is a novel viewpoint and their evidence is logical. They take a rather optimistic view, and argue that the uncertainty of teaching will ultimately be eliminated as educational knowledge grows, but nevertheless they draw our attention to the fact that there still remain other uncertainties which are inevitable. They go on to explain the reason why they are inevitable:

Still other uncertainties are inevitable; these will always be present, for individual teachers and for the occupation as a whole. Uncertainties of knowledge are inevitable because teaching involves human beings, who are ultimately unpredictable and unknowable. Uncertainties of action are inevitable because teaching involves essential tensions—striving for one end requires giving up on others (at least for the moment)—so that no choice of action will be clearly preferable. (Floden & Clark, 1988, p. 507)

They further claim that uncertainty concomitant with an act of teaching should and can be reduced and they suggest the following strategy for controlling it:

Understanding could lead to despair if teachers had no hope of reducing uncertainty to manageable levels. Fortunately, uncertainty can be reduced, though not eliminated. Much of what goes on in teacher education helps. Knowledge may increase awareness of the possible extent of uncertainty, but it also raises the absolute level of certainty. Increasing pedagogical knowledge and skill helps teachers to make reasonable, rapid choices of action, to anticipate classroom events, to assess student understanding, and to find acceptable postures of instructional authority. Increasing subject matter knowledge increases certainty about instructional content. (Floden & Clark, 1988, p. 516)

It is evident from the way Floden and Clark develop the argument for the reduction of uncertainty that the strategy they propose is based on the assumption that uncertainty in teaching can eventually be reduced in varying degrees of depth and scope. This approach is far from being beyond the limit of modern rationalism and it is easy to note that rational thinking which stemmed from modern scientism reveals itself throughout their discussion. *Preparing Teachers for Uncertainty* (Floden & Clark,

1988) might surprise all those who are concerned with the study of a knowledge base for teacher education and will surely open up a new dimension of the knowledge base for further discussion. However, even if the reduction of uncertainty is brought under control by discovering or creating general rules of teaching on the one hand, there will appear, on the other hand, a new dimension of unpredictable uncertainty corresponding to the extent to which the student's personal knowledge will be more recognized in the classroom.

In the quotation cited earlier in this article from the general comment made by Tanigawa, in response to the classroom observation report developed in the poem called "Language and Body," Tanigawa states that it will be sufficient to get all the students together simply to keep looking up to the sky in silence and it may well be worth attempting. This type of recognition should not be seen as being restricted to that of a poet in the name of intuition, but should be seen as a new dimension which all those engaged in teacher education can intuitively share. We should not hesitate to acknowledge or promote the significance of this type of recognition, because this approach will ensure flexible thinking about individual students and open up the way toward novel recognition through experience. The knowledge which is identified as one of the elements essential to the knowledge base in teacher education is the knowledge which derives from inside one's body in the course of teaching. Under no circumstances should uncertainty in education be conceived as a negative element to be eliminated. Education always involves uncertainty and it is only when the existence of uncertainty is accepted that we begin to see a new dimension of education emerge, where the personal knowledge and the quality of individual children are recognized and respected the way they should be.

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# Educating Teachers to Develop Healthy Students' Minds

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*Tomohiro Itsuno*

## Introduction

In Japan, the curriculum for teacher education in universities and colleges consists of general education subjects, education-related subjects, and major subject studies. These are based on the Educational Personnel Certification Law. The teacher education curriculum should be reexamined from other perspectives because the curriculum impacts on the teacher and on the social structure. Broad questions, such as what sort of knowledge must the teacher have and what roles must the teacher fulfill in a changing society need to be asked.

Underlying the reexamination of the curriculum should be these two primary questions: First, what sort of knowledge must children acquire by the learning of each subject; and second, how can we foster healthy minds in children? This article focuses on the latter problem—fostering healthy minds in children.

### *The Present Situation and the Problems of Fostering Healthy Human Minds*

Since the 1970s, antisocial and nonsocial children's behaviors, such as school violence, bullying other students, spiritlessness, indifference, and refusing to attend school have become serious problems in our country. These behaviors are said to have been caused by the "diseased" minds of children, and some say it has led to the "desolation of edu-

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Table 1  
*The State of School Refusals*

	<i>Elementary School Student</i>	<i>Secondary School Student</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Difficult relations with others in the school	361 (5.0)	2751 (6.9)	3112 (6.6)
2. Misconduct and pursuit of pleasure	88 (1.2)	7735 (19.4)	7823 (16.6)
3. Spiritlessness; dislike of school	2051 (28.6)	11,970 (30.0)	14,021 (29.8)
4. Emotional disorder (e.g., anxiety about school)	2887 (40.3)	10,465 (26.2)	13,352 (28.4)
5. Intentional disorder rejection of usefulness of school	219 (3.1)	1875 (4.7)	2094 (4.4)
6. Compound type	1092 (15.2)	4196 (10.5)	5288 (11.2)
7. Others	466 (6.5)	940 (2.4)	1406 (3.0)
Total	7164 (100.0)	39,932 (100.0)	47,096 (100.0)

tion." The temporary Educational Council was established in 1984 as an advisory committee of the Japanese cabinet to determine the fundamental measures necessary to reform this "desolate education." Some reforms have been enacted, but childrens' problems have many causes and are not easily solved.

The Ministry of Education released a white paper on the problem behaviors of children December 6, 1990. According to this report, there are no changes in the amount of tormenting or bullying other students, and school violence is steadily increasing. As shown in Table 1, the number of incidents of students refusing to attend school has increased substantially. (A student is classified as refusing to go to school if over 50 school days are missed.)

Refusing to attend school continues to increase and there is no sign that this trend is changing. Consequently, it is a problem of great urgency that measures to cope with the situation be developed. Schools, school boards, education centers, and all agencies involved must work together to solve the problem.

*School Refusal and Its Pathology*

*The present situation of school refusal.* The reason why students refuse to go to school is not always easy to define. There are two viewpoints: one attributes all school refusals as functional nervous disorders; while the other viewpoint includes a wide range of explanations for why students do not like to go to school. The latter is the most common viewpoint and is that expressed by the Ministry of Education. The reasons for school refusal identified by the Ministry's report are:

1. Neurotic emotional confusion
2. Mental disorder, as in the early states of depression or schizophrenia
3. Poor academic performance
4. Mental or emotional disabilities
5. Maladjustment from transferring schools
6. Lack of valuing education

According to Table 1, "The State of School Refusals," most of the school refusals in the elementary schools are due to emotional confusion combined with vague worries. In the secondary school students, most of the school refusals are due to spiritlessness, emotional confusion, and misdeeds involving the pursuit of pleasure.

According to Table 2, the immediate causes of school refusals are problems in the "family life" and "school life" of children. Problems in family life are most serious for elementary school students and problems in school are most serious for secondary school students.

The analysis of the causes and backgrounds of students refusing to attend school reveals the complexity of the factors within such categories as the "school," "family," "society," "physical," and "psychological" factors. Therefore, it is difficult to attribute school refusal as the special problem of special students. The following section discusses school refusal considering the factors of family life and school life.

*The state of family and school refusals.* As mentioned above, the factors of "family life" are serious for children. Originally, if parents and children in the family are linked with confidence and love, the family is a total community and it would be hardly possible that the family would become the cause of school refusal. But, due to unexpected changes in society and families, we must consider that the conditions of families have changed, and the original functions are no longer commonly found. Some of these changes include:

1. People have been relying more and more on electrical appliances in their homes; therefore, the family has been losing the function of home training acquired formerly by the collaboration of work with the mem-

**Table 2**  
*The Reasons for School Refusals*

	Reason	Elementary School Student	Secondary School Student	Total
<i>School Life</i>	Friends	776 (10.8)	6370 (16.0)	7146 (15.2)
	Relations to Teacher	210 (2.9)	625 (1.6)	835 (1.8)
	Depression of Studies	477 (6.7)	7029 (17.6)	7506 (15.9)
	Maladjustment to Clubs	21 (0.3)	685 (1.7)	706 (1.5)
	Regulations of School	56 (0.8)	1381 (3.5)	1437 (3.1)
	Maladjustment in Transfer	383 (5.3)	1673 (4.2)	2056 (4.4)
	<i>Subtotal</i>	1923 (26.8)	17,763 (44.5)	19,686 (41.8)
<i>Family Life</i>	Sudden Change of Family	814 (11.4)	3356 (8.4)	4170 (9.8)
	Parent and Child	1315 (18.4)	5151 (12.9)	6466 (13.7)
	Family Trouble	465 (6.5)	2651 (6.6)	3116 (6.6)
	<i>Subtotal</i>	2594 (36.2)	11,158 (27.9)	13,752 (29.2)
<i>Personal</i>	Disease	584 (8.2)	3074 (7.7)	3658 (7.8)
	Others*	923 (12.9)	4177 (10.5)	5100 (10.8)
<i>Other Reasons</i>	Others	496 (6.9)	1155 (2.9)	1651 (3.5)
	Unknown	644 (9.2)	2605 (6.5)	3249 (6.9)
<i>Total</i>		7164 (100.0)	39,923 (100.0)	47,696 (100.0)

\*The student's disposition, character, and so on.

bers. Childrens' actual ability and tolerance for frustration are not developed.

2. The family has become smaller due to the trend toward the nuclear family. Consequently, the standards of behavior toward different family members has been lost. The family's function of developing childrens' mental abilities has decreased and it has delayed the formation of childrens' egos and caused some difficulties for childrens' social adjustment.

3. The nuclear family in Japan is not a husband and wife centered-family, but a child-centered family. As a result, children very often have an illusion that parents exist only for serving their needs. The growth of childrens' independence gives children a mistaken impression of their own importance, ending in failure. Furthermore, this caused children anxiety due to the separation of mother and child.

4. The relationship between mother and child in Japanese families is a problem. This relationship aims to bring up and protect the child by making the mother and child interdependent. It is seen as fostering the Japanese mentality of depending on "others' kindness." In such conditions children can't always accept an appropriate treatment for mental development because they can't be apart from their mother and can't become independent. Of course, the sentiment of mother and child integration is very important, but it must be cut off at some stage. Fathers must fulfill the role of helping the child become less dependent on the mother, but at present the father is not at home enough to perform this function. This is a serious problem for the education of children.

We can see that the process of children growing up in the Japanese family is related to the problem behaviors of children, such as school refusals. Since school refusals are a special problem only in Japan, we should study carefully the special characteristics of the Japanese family.

*The problems in school life.* According to Table 2, it is clear that the most frequent occasion for school refusals is related to the influence of childrens' school life. And we can see that the problems of human relations in school life and low academic achievement are most serious. Originally, school was intended to be a vibrant place of life and learning. Recently the school has lost the function of promoting the human development of children and now only plays the function of cramming specific knowledge into childrens' heads. The school also exerts pressure on children to achieve academically, which causes a great amount of problem behavior.

There is also the matter of the Japanese belief in equalitarianism. In general, the Japanese feel that if one person advances to an upper level school, another should be able to advance also. In this context, people

expect to achieve more high level education. It is a social compulsion, working invisibly, and it results in great pressure for children.

Japanese equalitarianism has served to stimulate equal opportunity to education, but it has resulted in the uniformity of education. It is based on the idea that efficiency will be improved by cooperative efforts, but the lack of concern for the individual child means that the problems of many children are not addressed.

Paradoxically, Japanese equalitarianism has promoted a belief that children will be rewarded for their academic efforts. This belief stresses hard work and competition with other children to achieve academic excellence. When the hard work results in failure, the children feel that there is something wrong with them.

The Japanese educational system was developed to provide equal opportunity. However, equality may be limited by aptitude and, consequently, dreams and hopes are not always satisfied. This increases the stress on children. How "individualism" is realized in Japanese education is a serious problem.

The items mentioned above are fundamental causes for school refusals, but there are many other immediate causes. After considering all these factors we must structurally clarify the pathology of school refusal.

#### *Fostering Healthy Human Minds and the Knowledge Base for Teachers*

Childrens' problems are increasing in Japan. It is important to deal with the problems to promote the development of healthy human minds. The understanding and skills for fostering healthy human minds should be part of the teachers' knowledge base.

Generally, the knowledge base for a doctor includes the understanding of pathology concerning the cause for the outbreak of a disease and the clinical medicine for investigation and cure. Similarly, we can say that the knowledge base required for a teacher for fostering healthy human minds is composed of the understanding of the pathology and skills for the cure.

Understanding the pathology of school refusal and other problems is very difficult, but it can be clarified by the analysis of the factors discussed above, namely, the family life, school life, and physical, psychological, and social factors.

In addition, the knowledge base for teachers should include skills for the cure of diseases, such as the skill of counseling. To acquire the skill of counseling, teachers need clinical experience in their preservice training and practice.

Lastly, as school refusal has a serious relationship with what school

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ought to be, we need to examine the guidance system so that the school itself does not become the cause of school refusal. The school must make close contact with the childrens' families and prevent school refusal. School boards, educational centers, and concerned agencies in each region must fulfill their roles to foster healthy human minds.

# Goals and Strategies for Science Teaching as Perceived by Elementary School Teachers in Japan and the United States

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## Introduction

The purpose of this research is to determine and clarify the differences and similarities of the goals and strategies for science teaching as perceived by elementary school teachers in Japan and in the United States in order to improve the learning and teaching of science in both countries. This work is based on the assumption that we can learn from each other. There are significant similarities as well as significant differences, and it is important to learn from them.

There are various important geographical factors that make Japan different from the United States. Japan is a relatively small island country off the coast of the Asian continent. The United States is mainly a continental nation separated from the other continents by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Japan has few natural resources, with little mineral and energy resources, and scarce agricultural lands. Many Japanese consider their people to be the most important resource. The United States, however, has many natural resources, including rich energy and mineral deposits and some of the most fertile agricultural land in the world.

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Japan and the United States also have demographic differences. The Japanese population is comparatively homogeneous. Almost all of the Japanese have similar cultural backgrounds and speak the same language. The American population, on the other hand, is very heterogeneous. Almost all Americans can be considered to have come from somewhere else originally. While English is the language spoken by almost everyone, there are still many languages, many religions, and many races with various cultural and behavior differences. The Japanese have a centralized school system, while education in the United States is very decentralized with many of the key educational policies and decisions made by the communities within the different states.

Other differences between the two countries can be traced to educational policies, regulations, financing, curriculum standards, teacher training, instructional materials, and other matters related to education. Undoubtedly the existence of differences in fundamental values, in socioeconomic issues, in public opinion, in attitudes towards scientific and environmental matters, and in expectations for science and technology have caused variations in the opinions about science teaching held by elementary school teachers.

It is worthwhile to note that although the historical and sociocultural background in both countries differs, it is still possible to determine the commonalities in the field of science education. This is possibly a result of the internationalization of the goals and objectives for science teaching that has been brought about by the Japanese limiting, adapting, and implementing various United States' practices in the teaching of science education. The developmental stages of students, as exemplified by the goals, content, teaching material development, and evaluation of science teaching may also contribute to the existence of commonalities of science education in both countries.

This study examines the similarities and differences between Japanese and United States teachers' opinions about science teaching. It is also the purpose of this research to collect and classify this basic data, which will further the improvement of science education. It is intended that the findings of this study be used in the analysis, synthesis, and assessment of various teacher education programs during the process of curriculum development, implementation, and evaluation for preservice and inservice training of science teachers.

This is a first stage report of the Hiroshima University and University of Minnesota cooperative project. The tentative 108 item opinion survey that is used in this study was developed by Professor Shigekazu Take-mura's team and contains the list of potential science education competencies and behaviors expected of elementary school teachers. In the

University of Minnesota, Dr. Francis Lawrenz, in consultation with Dr. Takemura, adopted the opinion survey as a rating instrument. The staff of the Science Education Department of the College of Education of University of Minnesota, specifically Dr. Roger Johnson and Dr. Lawrenz, administered the survey to the graduate students of the elementary science education courses. Fifty-five prospective elementary school teachers responded to the opinion survey in Minnesota, representing the sample from the United States. In Japan, about 500 elementary school teachers responded.

It is our intention that this survey be a first step in developing an instrument that might be administered more comprehensively in Japan and in the United States.

**Tentative Survey Findings of the Goals and Strategies  
for Science Teaching as Perceived by Elementary School Teachers  
in Japan and the United States**

The research dealt with nine categories of teaching, which include: objectives, teaching content, lesson plan, teaching methods and strategies, management of science classroom and laboratory, teaching material production, evaluation of student learning, the teacher's opportunity for training, and the teacher's autonomy in acquiring knowledge and skills in teaching. These categories were intended to determine the perceptions of teachers about science teaching that could be potentially considered relevant in comparing the school teachers in Japan and the United States.

In the United States, prospective elementary school teachers selected the three items in each category that they felt were important and ranked these 1, 2, or 3. In Japan, the teachers were requested to rank the desirability or importance of the different aspects of teaching. The Japanese teachers selected from four different assessments: no importance, little importance, with importance, and with much importance. These were utilized in all items of the nine categories. A discussion of the ratings of the teachers' selecting each activity follows.

### *Objectives*

The Japanese elementary school teacher respondents ranked first the item, "I encourage children to be aware of and respond in a positive manner to beauty and orderliness in their environment." The item ranked second was, "I always allow children to sense and formulate the existence of a problem," and the item ranked third was, "I encourage

children to acquire the ability to observe things and events in order to perceive and identify them."

The American respondents rated first the item, "I always give a child the chance to be intrigued by objects and events in his environment and be curious about his surroundings." The item ranked second was "I encourage children to acquire the ability to observe things and events in order to perceive and identify them." Ranked third was "I encourage children to be free from bias, prejudice, and superstitions, and to acquire other values such as open-mindedness, critical-mindedness, and intellectual honesty." The item ranked fourth was "I encourage children to show willingness to expose their tentative ideas and explanations to others and reconsider their thinking in the light of data at hand." The item that was ranked fifth was "I encourage children to acquire willingness to change their belief when evidence is found."

The high ranking of the aesthetic aspect in science teaching by the Japanese teachers can be considered an illustration of the difference of the objectives of the teachers in both countries. One of the priorities in selecting objectives in Japan is to encourage children to become aware of and respond in a positive manner to the beauty and orderliness of their environment. An essential aspect of Japanese science education is to find ways to inculcate the ideals of beauty and orderliness in nature, love of nature, adjustment to nature, and working with and not conquering nature.

### *Teaching Content*

With regard to teaching content, the Japanese respondents rated first the item, "I recognize that teaching content must be considered along with the nature of the learner in terms of need and interest, growth level patterns of the affective, cognitive, and psychomotor domains, etc." The item ranked second was, "I believe that teaching content must consider the natural and social environmental needs of the learners." The item ranked third was, "I organize content to provide opportunity for children to participate in planning, implementing, and evaluating activities in individual and group projects."

The rankings by American respondents were similar to those of the Japanese teachers. The Japanese teachers, however, continued to emphasize and encourage children to ensure and formulate the existence of the problems, promote problem-solving skills needed for inquiry, develop an interest in science, and acquire growth of scientific thinking and instrumental skills.

### *Lesson Plans*

The respondents from Japan rated first the item, "I construct lesson plans to promote harmonious activities related to teaching, such as demonstrations, questioning, suggesting, admiring, etc., as well as learning, such as forming various types of experiences, critical investigations, summarizing, and evaluating learning." The item ranked second was, "I construct lesson plans that promote intellectual and creative development among children taking into account levels of readiness, development, deficiencies, status of cognitive development, interests, etc."

In the United States, the respondents ranked first the item, "I construct lesson plans that promote intellectual and creative development among children taking into account levels of readiness, development, deficiencies, status of cognitive development, interests, etc." The item ranked second was, "I construct lesson plans to facilitate process skills such as observing, describing, measuring, etc." The item with the third rating was, "I prepare lesson plans that cultivate the process of science to enable children to acquire the desire to know, question, search for data and meaning that demand verification, etc."

Japanese and U.S. teachers seem to have different opinions about teaching. In Japan, there is a focus on the harmonious activity related to teaching, such as demonstration, questioning, suggesting, admiring, as well as on the learning process. This seems to indicate that uniform class activities under the control of the teacher are emphasized in science lessons.

On the contrary, in the United States, individual learners develop their own activities so that the teachers can take into account the level of readiness, development, deficiencies, and cognitive development of children. This can also enable children to acquire the desire to know, question, search for data and meaning that demand verification, and so on.

In comparing opinions about lesson planning, Japanese teachers seem to dominate the teacher's role. In the United States, the students are sometimes allowed to make learning plans by themselves.

### *Teaching Methods and Strategy*

The Japanese respondents ranked first the item, "I utilize various teaching facilities such as laboratory, classroom, and school grounds in my class." The item ranked second was, "I utilize various teaching strategies such as problem-solving, case studies, and demonstration in my class."

In the United States, the respondents ranked first the item, "I utilize various teaching strategies such as problem-solving, case studies, and demonstration in my class." The item with second rank was, "I utilize various teaching facilities such as laboratory, classroom, and school grounds in my class."

In the United States, there seem to be few science laboratories in the elementary schools. On the contrary, in Japan, there are generally at least one or two science laboratories in each elementary school, plus equipment and apparatus necessary for science lessons.

The teachers in the United States also ranked third the item, "I utilize various teaching facilities available in the community such as science centers, museums, and natural areas in my class." In Japan, as a part of future activities, the teachers desire to utilize various teaching facilities available in the community, such as science centers and museums. American teachers seem to want to make use of audio-visual devices and materials in their teaching more than their Japanese counterparts.

#### *Management of Science Room/Laboratories*

The respondents from Japan ranked first the item, "I implement safe laboratory measures." The item, "I am prepared to handle emergencies that may arise" is ranked second. The item with the third rank was, "I devise experiments conducted in such a way as to help children think and be conscious of the purpose of performing the experiment."

The respondents from the United States ranked first the item, "I apply classroom management techniques to allow for individual, small-group, and whole-class instruction." The item with the second rank was, "I devise experiments conducted in such a way as to help children think and be conscious of the purpose of performing the experiment."

It can be noted that in the Japanese schools the teachers stress the importance of utilizing "safe laboratory measures," and preparing learners to deal with "emergencies that may arise." The students are given instructions on how to be careful in the classroom and laboratories during experiment sessions. The value of safety in the classroom is therefore given prime importance in science classes in Japan.

#### *Teaching Materials Production*

The Japanese respondents ranked first the item, "I develop instructional materials suited to students' ability levels and relevant to classroom objectives." The item ranked second was, "I adapt and utilize a variety of instructional materials and media such as films, OHP [over-

head projectors], transparencies, software, etc." In the United States, the respondents also rated first and second the same items as their counterparts in Japan.

There seems to be a close similarity with regards to teaching materials production in both countries. The item ranked fourth, "I utilize results of diagnostic and evaluation procedures in planning instruction," is an example of this. The item ranked fifth in both countries, "I develop and improve for my science class competency tests and evaluation instruments to measure cognitive, process skills, and attitudes," is another example. It was also interesting to note that the respondents from both countries seemingly do not value highly the use of microcomputer-based science instruction.

### *Evaluation of Student Learning*

The Japanese respondents ranked first the item, "I assign individual work appropriate to the level of students' ability and give feedback/evaluation promptly." The item ranked second was, "I utilize fair and varied student evaluation measures such as paper-and-pencil tests, essay tests, checklists, interviews, etc." The item ranked third was, "I believe that a teacher must be well equipped with evaluation designs such as evaluation policy, assumptions, methods of data collection and analysis, discrimination of information, cost-benefit analysis, product assessment, etc."

The respondents from the United States ranked first the item, "I am able to identify students with special needs and inclinations, and provide the necessary support system or refer them to appropriate persons or agencies for assistance and guidance." The item ranked second was, "I assign individual work appropriate to the level of student ability and give feedback/evaluation promptly."

It seems from the data that the American respondents emphasize the identification of learners with special needs and inclinations, and the process of providing them with the necessary support system or referring them to appropriate specialists for proper assistance and guidance. The Japanese respondents seemingly deemphasized this component of evaluating students. The Japanese educational system tends to put great emphasis on uniformity rather than individuality. The American educational system seems to emphasize the development of students' potential based on the specific needs and interests that the learners' possess. The necessary support is provided to each learner based on his/her special characteristics or personality.

*Teacher's Opportunity for Training*

The respondents from Japan ranked first the item, "My school regularly holds staff development programs." The item ranked second was, "Within the past three years, I have updated my knowledge in my specialized area." The item ranked third was, "Within the past three years, I have updated my knowledge on laboratory techniques, procedures, and safety."

The respondents from the United States ranked first the item, "Within the past three years, I have attended graduate school courses offered by an advanced degree granting institution." They ranked second the item, "Within the past three years, I have updated my knowledge on new instructional methods and strategies for science teaching," and ranked third the item, "Within the past three years, I have attended short courses, summer institutes, or similar training for science teaching."

The difference between the two countries with regard to teachers' opportunities for training might be traced to the difference in inservice training in the two countries. In Japan, the teachers regularly hold staff development programs within the school. Teachers are given the chance to demonstrate to the other teachers in the school the teaching techniques they are developing in order to emphasize the value of being recognized as an important part of the group or the school. On the other hand, the teachers in the United States acquire much of their inservice training by attending classes in schools that offer graduate courses that enable them to acquire advanced degrees and earn salary increases.

The last part of this report will develop an explanation of the process of staff development of teachers in Japan.

*Teachers' Autonomy in Acquiring Knowledge and Skills in Teaching*

The respondents from Japan ranked first the item, "I always strive to give my best when I teach and prepare for my science class." The item ranked second was, "During and outside of teaching activities a teacher must always demonstrate and give witness to their love for children, human beings, and education." The item ranked third was, "I motivate my students to learn science."

The respondents from the United States also ranked first the item, "I always strive to give my best when I teach and prepare for my science class." They also ranked third the item, "I motivate my students to learn science." They, however, ranked second the item, "I believe that everyone in a group deserves equal respect, attention, and opportunity."

American schools seem to put great emphasis on the need of each

individual. They seem to adhere to the idea that each individual deserves equal respect, attention, and opportunity which is necessary for the support of a democratic society based on freedom, equality, respect, and justice.

### **Staff Development in Japanese Schools**

Improving teacher competency in Japan through the process of observing classroom demonstrations by the newly recruited teachers is commonly used in the Japanese schools and can be considered an important factor in improving the process of lesson planning and practice. This process of staff development seeks to: (a) enhance the ability to develop a lesson or teaching unit, (b) facilitate the improvement of teacher and learning strategies, and (c) facilitate the improvement of the development of teaching and learning plans.

During a typical demonstration designed to improve the quality of the lesson plans, newly recruited teachers would be given the chance to demonstrate lessons for experienced teachers. Prior to the observation, the newly recruited teachers would provide each of the observers with the lesson plan of the subject to be demonstrated. The lesson plan normally includes the teaching objectives of the unit, student motivation techniques, a review of previous experiences of the learners, the sequence of presenting the new experiences, the steps of the learning process which include the introduction and development and conclusion, teaching and learning modes, teaching materials and aids, experiences to be acquired by the learners, teaching strategies and techniques to be used, the evaluation process, and the style of drill and review processes.

During the demonstration, the experienced teachers would observe the class of the newly recruited teacher. The activities generally include observation, recording, teacher questions, discussions, constructive criticism, commentaries, evaluation, request for suggestions, expressions of admiration, and so on. Some of the teachers are required to record, among other things, the organization of the lesson plan, the definition of the problem, the collection and interpretation of data, the formulation of a tentative hypothesis developed by the learners, the learners' experimental plan, the provision for conclusion, and the provision for the transfer of the gained knowledge and skills to new situations. Some of the teachers keep a record of the readiness, motivation, drive, interests, aspiration, quality of the setting, possibility of expressing natural behavior, skill modification, cognitive and affective development, effectiveness of teaching aids, experimental worksheets, television program, OHP

presentation, checking of materials, personal relations, emotional climate, nature of peer culture, level of difficulties, appropriateness of content, and so on.

Teachers who have the chance to observe the teaching demonstrations of the newly recruited teachers are required to make a record of the various aspects of the lesson from their specific point of view and to comment on the specific process of learning and teaching. For example, if the teachers criticize the learning process of inquiry, the teacher must comment on the situation in which the children are involved in tasks such as the assessment and definition of a problem, and revise the learning situation based on correcting and reinterpreting the data of the previous experiences. The teachers can suggest the changes to be made, revise the teaching mode or teaching materials, or invite group discussion in order to formulate a tentative hypothesis about more effective teaching. The suggestions are discussed among the teacher observers who want to analyze the lesson. Other teachers could present their suggestions of the lesson in terms of an experiment which the child develops and defines the experimental method to be adopted, the presentation and cooperation involved in the experiment, and the recording method of tabulating the experiment results. This plan of experiment gathering of data, the process of drawing conclusions, and interpretation by students would be revised in other ways for a more effective desired conclusion. These teachers would then present the teaching strategy and technique of administering the experiment.

The kind of formative evaluation, involving processes and skills and attitudes to be presented and suggested in the meeting for evaluating and improving the lesson of the newly recruited teacher's lessons, is determined during this gathering. After the teacher's demonstration, each group of teachers presents the newly revised lesson plan that describes the behavioral objectives, preparation of materials, teaching aids, techniques and strategies of teaching, teaching mode, individual or group learning, and so forth. They describe the important aspects of learning, such as the child's longing to know, the child's questioning of natural phenomena, the child's research for data and its meaning, or the child's demand for verification, collection, drawing conclusions, and consideration of the consequences in the learning/teaching structure.

Each group of teachers can present a new lesson plan to the workshop participants. Every participant can listen to the newly revised lesson plans. The teacher groups during this kind of workshop can bring about the improvement of teacher competencies and the quality of teaching. These experiences are usually held weekly in Japanese schools in order to maintain a high standard of education.

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# How Japanese Student Teachers View Practice Teaching: An Analysis of Critical Incidents Summaries

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## Research on Student Teaching in Japan

In Japan, student teaching has been recognized as an important part of teacher education, both in normal schools before the Second War, and following the war, in colleges and universities. According to the policy document "Regulations of Normal Schools," issued in 1925, student teaching included visits to attached laboratory schools, the observation of model teaching, the making of lesson plans and their implementation, and class and school management activities. The Teacher Certification Law of 1949 established a period of 4 weeks of practice teaching for elementary school teachers and, despite its revision in 1990, the period of student teaching in school remains the same.

Until the end of the 1970s, student teaching had been "rarely researched, even though it occupied a very important part of the teacher training program" (Imazu, 1982, p. 13). Several research surveys relating to student teaching have been conducted since the mid-1970s.

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These studies may be separated into two categories. One type describes the present system of student teaching—its organization, procedure, and supervision. This type of study includes teaching and curriculum issues for student teaching in colleges and universities, and instruction and supervision at schools. That is, they provide factual detail of student teaching in Japan (Horiguchi, 1982; Research Committee, 1989; Uehara & Kikuchi, 1975). The other type investigates opinions and ideas held by students, college teachers, and school teachers concerning student teaching. These studies cover various aspects of student teaching (Koyasu & Imasaka, 1980; Research Committee of Contemporary Teaching Profession, 1983a, 1983b). In the studies of students' opinions, the main focus has been on: (a) the purpose and meaning of student teaching, (b) the students' evaluation of their own student teaching, and (c) the change in students' attitude toward the teaching profession (Akiyama, 1981; Kikuchi & Nakahara, 1978; Osato, 1981; Research Committee of the Council for Improvement of Student Teaching, 1989; Suzuki, Kamae, Yokoo, Ohigashi, & Shimizu, 1982; Suzuki, Nagaoka, Sato, & Sawada, 1984).

These surveys treat student teaching only as preparation for students to become teachers, and do not incorporate elements of continuing professional development that will lead to thoughtful practitioners in the teaching profession. Furthermore, these surveys do not deal with the complexities of teaching in the school setting. Studies which overcome these deficiencies in our present understanding of student teaching in Japan are required.

### Background to the Study

#### *Characteristics of Student Teaching in Japan*

In Japan, preservice teacher education, student teaching, and inservice education are not systematically related to each other. Therefore, in teacher education, colleges and universities have only a limited role.

In the colleges and universities, students are introduced to teaching methodology, curriculum writing, and so on, before going through student teaching. However, once student teaching is underway, colleges and universities leave the education of teacher candidates to the teachers in the schools, that is, to supervisory teachers in charge of student teachers during the 4-week practice teaching period for elementary schools and 2-week period for junior and senior high schools.

Furthermore, schools are reluctant to accept student teachers, because there is no budgetary allocation set aside for student teaching, and the

teachers do not receive any extra pay for extra work they do in guiding and leading the student teachers. (Accepting student teachers increases the work load of teachers in the schools. It sometimes happens that a school teacher has to repeat the same lesson that his/her student teacher taught to pupils because the lesson was so poorly done by the student teacher.) Because of these circumstances, many teachers at student teaching schools would like to avoid taking student teachers.

In addition, teachers often feel uncomfortable when they accept responsibility for a student teacher who does student teaching without intending to be a teacher after graduation from college. Therefore, some college professors tell their students who do not plan to be teachers to disguise this intention at student teaching schools, otherwise the school might not accept student teachers from that college in the future.

Most college and university professors observe student teachers in the schools on special days set aside for the purpose. These days are called "study teaching days" and usually occur in the last week of the practice teaching period. The student's performance in front of a class is watched by teachers, and advice and comments are provided at a meeting following the presentation of the lesson. Even if the college professor attends the meeting (which is not always the case) with the student and teacher following the student's classroom teaching, the discussion is not directly related to teacher preparation education.

There are additional reasons why colleges and universities do not provide student teachers with guidance in developing their teaching skills. Professors are sometimes unable to observe all of their students who are practice teaching in the schools because the student teaching period is so concentrated at certain times in the spring and fall. It may be the case that professors who visit schools and observe teacher candidates' teaching are not the same professors who are responsible for candidates' professional education performance.

#### *The New Teacher Retention Project*

The New Teacher Retention Project, (Morey, Colvin, & Murphy, 1990; Murphy, Colvin, & Morey, 1990), developed by A. I. Morey and others at San Diego State University, is the basis of the present study for two reasons:

1. In this program, preservice teacher education and inservice teacher education are closely related, and student and novice teachers have the opportunity to attend weekly seminars and obtain advice from college teachers.

2. Student and novice teachers write summaries of the events they identify as significant in their everyday teaching (critical incidents), and through discussion with other school teachers and college teachers they are trained through this process to reflect on the events as thoughtful practitioners.

In the New Teacher Retention Project, student teachers write freely about significant events in their teaching experience (critical incident summaries) and have discussions based on these summaries. In Japan, student teachers also write summaries and note what kind of difficulties they have in everyday teaching in "Student Teaching Records" provided by each college. This gives them a good opportunity to reflect on their experiences at school. Supervising teachers read these summaries and give comments and advice to their student teachers. However, discussion with other student teachers and school teachers is not done.

"Student Teaching Records" are one of the main components of evaluation in student teaching, and student teachers will not criticize the teachers and the schools. In order to evaluate the student teaching process, it would be better to have student teachers write freely about events and their reflections on them within the context of everyday teaching experience.

### **Purpose and Method of the Study**

#### *Goals*

Because of the present student teaching system and the relationship existing between colleges and schools in Japan, it is impossible to directly introduce a system like the New Teacher Retention Project into Japan. Therefore, we began our research with the objective of improving student teaching and the preservice teacher education curriculum by introducing a method of critical incidents summary writing based on the San Diego State University model.

The purpose of the study is to better understand student teaching situations by analyzing these critical incidents summaries and by comparing results with other comparable studies.

#### *Subjects*

In spring 1991, two sets of questionnaires were distributed during a guidance session on student teaching prior to the students' practice teaching, to 88 seniors (29 male, 59 female) in the Department of Edu-

tion, Tamagawa University. Questionnaire One was completed when the 1st week of student teaching was over, and Questionnaire Two was completed when the 4 weeks of student teaching were finished.

### *Questionnaire Items*

Questionnaire One consists of two inquiries. In Question I, student teachers are asked to describe an incident that happened in their student teaching that they regard as the most significant. In Question II, they are asked to provide information about themselves and their student teaching school.

Questionnaire Two asks the same questions, plus asks student teachers to rank a list of topics according to what they found difficult during student teaching. The third question was added to determine the kinds of difficulties student teachers have and to try to determine if this is related to the results of the critical incidents summaries analysis.

In the questionnaire developed by San Diego State University, student teachers are asked to write about "what happened, how you dealt with the situation and your reflection about the incident." However, in our questionnaire, we eliminated "how you dealt with the situation" because we thought this limited the incidents to those in which problem-solving was required. Our intention is to cover not only the incidents requiring problem-solving, but also those not requiring problem-solving as far as they are significant for the students. Imagine an incident where a student teacher was very impressed by his/her guiding teacher's teaching and changed his/her view on education. In this situation, the student teacher is not directly required to "problem-solve," but the recording of the incident means it is of great significance to the student.

### *Coding*

A coding map was developed by reading the critical incidents summaries collected. Two readers analyzed and coded each summary according to the coding map. When there was not agreement between the readers, they discussed the incident and attempted to reach a consensus. The coding map itself consists of three categories: (a) a list of topics, (b) four types of evaluation by student teachers toward incidents they describe in the summaries, and (c) levels of reflectivity.

## Findings

### *Student Teachers' Descriptions of Critical Incidents*

Of the 88 student teachers, 54 (61%) completed Questionnaire One and 48 (55%) completed Questionnaire Two. Since the number of critical incidents summaries collected was relatively small, the relation between topics identified in the summaries and other factors, such as personal attributes and student teaching incidents, was not analyzed. Examples of the types of critical incidents student teachers described are provided in the Appendix.

In Questionnaire One, the item "Relation with Pupils" (17%) was the most frequently reported topic as a critical incident, followed by "Dealing with Pupils with Problems" (11%), "Dealing with Individual Differences in Teaching" (9%), "Understanding Pupils" (9%), "Relations with School Teachers" (9%), "Teaching Methods" (7%), "Busy Teaching Conditions" (7%), and "School Activities" (a field trip and plays performed by pupils) (6%).

In Questionnaire Two, "Teaching Methods" was the most frequent topic raised as a critical incident, followed by "Relations with Pupils" (10%), "Understanding Pupils" (8%), "Dealing with Pupils with Problems" (6%), "Homeroom Management" (6%), "Relations with School Teachers" (6%), and "Family and Local Environments" (6%).

It is not surprising that "Teaching Methods" was cited the most often as a critical incident in Questionnaire Two after the students have had teaching experience. In Questionnaire One, topics concerning instruction, "Dealing with Individual Differences in Teaching" and "Teaching Methods," are ranked highly as well.

It is interesting to note that the topics on "Relations with Pupils" and "Understanding Pupils" are also mentioned very frequently and appear in both questionnaire results. Presumably, this is because student teachers have little experience with little children in everyday life. Studying educational theory and general psychology in college might not seem relevant when confronted with individual pupils.

Along with the topic "Relations with Pupils," "Relations with School Teachers" also appears in both questionnaire results as significant in the student teachers' classroom experience. It seems that having good relationships with both pupils and school teachers is important for student teachers.

Table 1  
*Evaluation Toward Incidents*

Questionnaire One		Questionnaire Two	
Positive	19%	Positive	9%
Negative	10%	Negative	14%
Difficult	54%	Difficult	59%
Other	17%	Other	18%

*Evaluation of the Critical Incidents by Student Teachers*

Table 1 shows student teachers' evaluations of the incidents presented in summaries. Fifty-four percent of student teachers in Questionnaire One and 59% in Questionnaire Two evaluated incidents as "difficult" or "having a hard time." Since the rest of the student teachers evaluated their incidents otherwise, this seems to imply that to understand teaching situations only in terms of difficulty is insufficient.

Student teachers were asked to consider the relative difficulty they experienced in dealing with various types of issues they might have confronted in teaching. Table 2 shows the most frequently selected items marked as "the most difficult" from among some 40 possible problems. Items concerning instruction were noted most frequently, almost 70% when combined.

When asked to identify all of the different types of challenges found to be "the most difficult" and "difficult," students identified a large number of concerns, with matters concerning instruction being mentioned most often (see Table 3).

The fact that most student teachers identified several aspects of teaching to be difficult is not surprising, but this finding should remind

Table 2  
*The Most Difficult Things*

Knowledge of Subject Matter	19%
Making Lesson Plans	15%
Effective Teaching Methods	13%
Praising & Scolding Students	13%
Dealing with Individual Differences	10%
Motivating Students	8%
All Others	<u>22%</u>
	100%

Table 3

Challenges Seen to be Difficult in Order of Frequency Mentioned

Effective Teaching Methods
Dealing with Individual Differences
Making Lesson Plans
Motivating Students
Classroom Discipline
Praising & Scolding Students
Knowledge of Subject Matter
Dealing with Slow Learners

teacher educators that even though some tasks are particularly troublesome for prospective teachers, the combination of interrelated problems they find difficult to solve can be overwhelming.

### Comparison and Analysis

When asked, "What was the most difficult thing in your student teaching?," many student teachers selected items concerning instruction. However, the results of the summaries analysis implies that items such as relations with pupils and school teachers are important to student teachers, and student teachers not only relate difficulties but also feel "impressed," or moved, or disappointed. An analysis of the critical incidents summaries was successful in that various important aspects of the student teaching situation were identified.

Some comparison with other studies can be made. The San Diego State University finds that relationships are one of the major areas of concern for student teachers. However, it is ranked higher in our result. This difference may reflect Japanese culture, which emphasizes human relations. However, further analysis is required.

Many research studies report that discipline is the most frequent problem identified by new teachers (Veenman, 1984). However, most of these studies do not differentiate between whole class and individual discipline. The study by San Diego State University finds that dealing with individual student problems is a more frequent problem. Our study supports this finding.

In our study, the problem of whole class discipline appears neither in summaries nor in the items marked as "the most difficult." It appears for the first time as an item in terms of "difficulty in general." This is probably because student teaching in Japan is observed with the guiding

school teacher in the back of a classroom, and it makes the problem of whole class discipline less frequent than in the U.S. The item "Relations with Parents" is also less frequently selected in Japan. This is probably because student teaching in Japan is limited to instruction plus a little classroom management; student teachers are not allowed to do other things.

This study primarily presents various aspects of student teaching situations by analyzing critical incidents summaries. It will be expanded with more summaries and further analysis.

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Appendix  
Examples of Critical Incidents Summary

*Example 1: Female, 3rd Grade, Private School*

(1) I was in charge of a third grade class. Children at this grade level are able to play harmoniously with classmates. They enjoy physical activity. Especially girls ask me to play and want to hold my hands. Every student seems to want to, but only a few can do it. It was hard for me to know how to handle it.

(2) I think joining hands with a teacher may give comfort to children. It may be a good chance to communicate with students. It seems unfair for some children to be left out because of little courage or bad timing. I feel uncomfortable refusing students' request to join hands, but it is sometimes necessary in order to give all students an equal chance of joining hands.

topic: relations with pupils  
evaluation: difficult

*Example 2: Female, 1st Grade, Private School*

(1) Children are honest and docile. They perceive a word as it is. This means that I should never say wrong things or tell a lie. Children are always watching me carefully. I often hesitated when my every activity was being watched by children.

(2) I should do my best for them. I want to teach in detail what they want to know. I shall keep this simple feeling in my mind.

topic: understanding pupils  
evaluation: difficult

*Example 3: Female, 4th Grade, Public School*

(1) Today I arrived at school at quarter past seven. No teacher was in the teachers' office. I started cleaning their desks. In a little while, a teacher came in and said to me, "Did anybody tell you to do this? There must be other things you have to do. You are not a maid." This comment made me sad, for I had thought it was appropriate.

(2) In an orientation to student teaching at college, we were told that Tamagawa students are said to do well when they are instructed to do something but don't take initiatives. I thought I would do my best in

student teaching and take initiatives even though I had no direct instruction. Wiping teachers' desks is a good thing to do, I thought. I felt so sad when the teacher stopped it.

topic: relations with school teachers  
evaluation: negative

*Example 4: Male, 4th Grade, Public School*

(1) I was most impressed with what happened on the last day of student teaching, when a farewell party was held for me. Children of the class had prepared for games, songs, and gifts. A few of them cried, so it brought tears to my eyes.

(2) Experiences I had during the student teaching were the most valuable to me. Remembering this touching moment, I will be a teacher and live with children. I will never forget the farewell party.

topic: views on teaching profession and teacher  
evaluation: positive

*Example 5: Male, 3rd Grade, Private School*

(1) Many children of my class go to Juku after school and return home late. Though they may get many good things from Juku, some seem not to be able to concentrate on study at school, and look sleepy. To repeat a learning experience at Juku may make it easier to remember.

(2) Some day they will have to study hard, so I believe they should build up their bodies now and focus upon learning at school.

topic: family and local environment  
evaluation: other

*Example 6: Female, 4th Grade, Public School*

(1) At any grade of the school there are physically handicapped or emotionally disturbed children. All of the 4th grade classes have these children. The school seems to have a good relationship with parents of such a child. My classroom teacher said, "I wonder whether mixing them in a regular class might be better for them." I heard that the 4th grade is the highest grade where they could maintain these handicapped children in a regular class. Anyway, there seems to be no long absences and no children being bullied.

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(2) I did not know to what level I should expect and insist that these children achieve. For example, who should be expected to clean up a handicapped child's spilt milk, the child or her classmate? These children should, I think, do as much by themselves as possible and have confidence that they can do it if they try. One girl seems to get tired easily. Other children take care of her, but they do not bully her, and she seems happy. Teachers try not to spoil these students and work to develop a good relationship with their parents. I think this trust between teachers and parents is most important.

topic: understanding pupils  
evaluation: difficult

# Teacher Education to Enhance the Quality of Special Education in Japan

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## Introduction

Presently, special education teacher education in Japan is in a transitional period, and universities are trying many approaches in their programs. However, the limited range of these efforts is not observed to be adequate to cope with the increasing needs.

All disabled children should be given the most appropriate educational opportunities according to their individual needs and their types and severity of impairments. This raises the questions: What is the most appropriate educational opportunity? What are the qualifications a teacher needs to satisfy best the educational needs of children? These questions do not lend themselves to easy answers, yet the enhancement of the quality of teacher education will be assured by persistently pursuing answers to these questions.

## Recent Trends in Special Education

The quantitative expansion of special education from the 1970s to the early 1980s was remarkable in Japan (see Figure 1). Many special schools

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Figure 1. Increase in the number of schools for the handicapped (1950-1990).

Source: Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture, Japan

for the handicapped were established by the Revision of Enforcement Order of School Education Law, and education became available for children with any severe disability under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health and Welfare. This is great progress, but no one can say with confidence that appropriate education has been provided which satisfies the needs of children with various disabilities. Few teachers feel they have adequate preparation to deal with the children's developmental and learning problems. It is clear that teachers without enough professional knowledge cannot effectively produce the educational performance expected.

The total number of children and pupils enrolled in special education schools under the School Education Law was 93,497 (May 1, 1990) (see Table 1). The number at the elementary schools shows a decreasing trend in comparison with the previous years, while in contrast, the number at the senior school level shows an increasing trend. These trends indicate many problems in transition from the senior high schools to society. Presently, the enrollment of disabled children in special classes at regular schools is 77,162 (see Table 2). This number represents a decreasing trend.

The total number of infants, children, and pupils enrolled at special schools and special classes is 170,659, which is about one percent of the

Table 1  
Number of Special Schools and Pupils (May 1, 1990)

Type of Special School	Number of Schools	Number of Pupils					Total
		Kinder-garten Level	Elemen-tary Level	Lower Second. Level	Upper Second. Level		
Schools for the Blind	70	193	946	768	3,692	5,599	
Schools for the Deaf	108	1,531	2,456	1,748	2,434	8,169	
Schools for the Mentally Retarded	482	55	16,217	14,864	23,321	54,457	
Schools for the Motor Handicapped	188	106	8,183	4,640	6,319	19,248	
Schools for the Health Impaired	99	3	2,622	2,240	1,159	6,024	
Total	947	1,888	30,424	24,260	36,925	93,497	

Source: Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture, Japan

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Table 2  
*Number of Special Classes and Pupils (May 1, 1990)*

Kind of School	Elementary School		Lower Secondary School		Total	
	Special Classes	Pupils	Special Classes	Pupils	Special Classes	Pupils
Mental Retardation	9,548	33,184	5,241	21,817	14,789	55,001
Motor Handicap	315	832	133	304	448	1,136
Health Impairment	429	1,580	116	325	545	1,905
Partial Sight	64	159	22	44	86	203
Hard of Hearing	351	1,038	123	450	474	1,488
Speech Disorder	1,342	5,931	87	183	1,429	6,114
Emotional Disturbance	2,339	7,247	1,173	4,068	3,512	11,315
Total	14,388	49,971	6,895	27,191	21,283	77,162

Source: Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture, Japan

children and pupils enrolled in school. The number is much smaller than the numbers in the United States or other nations. This is due to a difference of definition. In Japan, special education is defined as the education of children enrolled in special schools and special classes; disabled children educated in regular classes under special considerations are not included in the number of special education students.

Recently, it has been noted that impairments of children and pupils are multiplying and becoming more severe, especially at special schools and in some special classes. Although the total number of children and pupils is decreasing at schools for the blind and hearing impaired, the number of blind and deaf children with mental retardation is increasing. Concern of the teachers of these children about what is appropriate education is great. In addition, homebound instruction is offered for children who are not able to attend schools due to the severity of impairment and other reasons. There is also a concern about how to teach these children in a limited amount of time, especially those from a poor home environment. Such students and teaching conditions demand multifaceted activities which are free from a prestructured framework, and require knowledge and teaching skills based upon a special education background. Tasks which were not even imagined by teachers in the past are now required of today's teachers.

At present, Japanese special education serves only a portion of children with blindness, deafness, mental retardation, physical disabilities,

health impairments, speech disorders, and emotional disturbances. Special education should serve children with the minimum to the greatest disabilities.

It is our understanding that in the United States all children with disabilities must be provided appropriate education according to the Individualized Education Program. This is the sublime act of education based on the spirit of the esteem for human rights. This has been recognized gradually in Japan, yet the recognition may not be enough. Attention to each disabled child will lead to greater self-fulfillment for each individual. While convinced of this possibility, we have not yet focused on every child with any disability.

### **General Notes on the Curriculum of Special Education Teacher Education**

Teacher education of special education teachers in Japan is fundamentally conducted on the same principles as those of teacher education for elementary school, junior high school, and senior high school. Teacher certification as a special education teacher is available when credits required for special education are added to credits required for teacher certificates for elementary school, junior high school, or senior high school. In other words, teacher education of general school teachers and that of special school teachers are constructed as "Heiko Rishuu" (parallel curriculum). Except in very special cases, the system does not allow the acquisition of the teacher certificate of special education alone.

The numbers of universities, junior colleges, and graduate schools which are accredited by the Ministry of Education to offer special education courses of study (i.e., programs) are as follows:

#### **Teacher certificate for school for the blind:**

Undergraduate programs	4
Graduate programs	1
Authorized teacher training institute	1

#### **Teacher certificate for school for the deaf:**

Undergraduate programs	10
Graduate programs	2
Graduate diploma programs	3

#### **Teacher certificate for school for the handicapped:**

Undergraduate programs	76
Graduate programs	10
Graduate diploma programs	20

Many universities offer more than one accreditation. Programs for teachers for the education of the speech impaired and emotionally disturbed are offered, but are not accredited for a teacher certificate.

### Curriculum of Special Education Teacher Preparation at Teacher Education Universities and Departments

Teacher education universities and departments whose primary mission is teacher education have been playing a central role in special education teacher preparation. There are 47 such universities, all of which are national institutes. In response to the oversupply of teachers, there has been an increase in the number of universities establishing a curriculum which does not impose the acquisition of a teacher certificate. This is a big change for teacher education universities and is mainly due to the decrease in the number of children and pupils anticipated in the future.

Several universities offer graduate diploma courses in mental retardation education, physical disability education, speech impairment education, health impairment education, and profound and multiple disabilities education. These diploma courses are so called nondegree one-year courses offered mainly for working teachers. Ad hoc teacher training courses are similar to the diploma programs and aim at the improvement or retraining of working teachers. Some problems have been observed due to the mixture of students with good knowledge and experience about special education and those who have experience at general elementary and high schools, but know less about special education. Other problems teacher education universities are facing are:

1. Reexamination of the philosophy and curriculum of programs which do not impose teacher certificates.
2. An alternative plan for a teacher certificate standard based on the new law of teacher certification.
3. Coordination of the graduate program (master's degree) and the undergraduate program.
4. Improvement in the quality of teacher education.

Teacher education universities are at a time of structural change from the point of both teacher education and teacher education of special education teachers. How to teach students effectively and appropriately, with a limited number of faculty, is a big problem.

### Master's Course in Special Education Teacher Education

Recently there has been an increase in the number of teacher education universities and departments which offer master's courses. There has also been an increase in the universities and departments which offer graduate special education courses. Presently, 14 universities offer master's courses in special education. These courses are conducted under authorized standards of master's programs, and it is anticipated that they will advance professional training and raise the level of scholastic endeavors.

In 1990, the Advanced Certificate was created under the new standard of teacher education, which requires 47 credits in special education. The increased requirements of the master's program is required by accredited universities that offer the advanced certificates.

### Employment of Special Education Teachers

The number of teachers newly employed by special schools and special classes has been gradually decreasing since the expansion of special education reached its peak in 1980. Employment at special schools is as follows:

Graduates at March of 1980	1,517
Graduates at March of 1988	675

The number in 1988 has decreased to less than half of the 1980 number. The number of graduates in March of 1988 separated by disability specialty is as follows:

Schools for the blind	60
Schools for the deaf	51
Schools for the handicapped	564

It has become apparent, over the past several years, that gaining employment as a special education teacher is becoming more difficult. There is an increase in the number of graduates of special education programs who are employed in occupations other than teaching, even though they have teacher certificates. As Figure 2 shows, the number of people who held teacher certificates peaked in 1980, but the number of teachers employed has been decreasing. There is also a decreasing trend in the numbers of children eligible for special education, so the small chance of employment as a teacher may discourage students (see Table 3).



Figure 2. Number of graduates who earned Special Education Teacher Certificates and teachers employed (1965-1988).

Source: Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture, Japan

Table 3  
Number of Teacher Certificates Earned (June 1, 1988)

Kind of Teacher Certificate	Class		Total
	1st	2nd	
School for the Blind	56	2	58
School for the Deaf	166	17	183
School for the Handicapped	3,006	845	3,851

Source: Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture, Japan

The employment examinations of public special schools and special classes at public school are administered by the board of education of prefectures and special cities. There are local governments which have special quotas for special education teachers, and they administer examinations. There are other governments which have only quotas for regular elementary, junior high, and senior high schools, and they employ special education teachers within these quotas.

There are teachers who are employed at regular schools, although they have teacher certificates in special education, and vice versa. Clear principles about employment are not observed. This employment practice may be appropriate for facilitating personnel shifts in the future, but this is not considered to be a rational practice from the point of maintenance and improvement of expertise of special education.

In May of 1990, special education teachers were assigned as follows:

Special Schools (Full-time)	44,798
(Part-time)	1,219
Special Classes	23,664

(For a more detailed breakdown of the above numbers, see Tables 4 and 5.) It is interesting to note that only 30% (7,275) of the teachers of special classes hold a teacher certificate in special education.

Table 4  
*Number of Teachers in Special Schools (May 1, 1990)*

	<i>School for the Blind</i>	<i>School for the Deaf</i>	<i>School for the Handicapped</i>	<i>Total</i>
Full-Time Teacher	3,381	4,605	36,812	44,798
Part-Time Teacher	285	223	711	1,219

Table 5  
*Number of Teachers in Schools for the Handicapped (May 1, 1990)*

	<i>School for the MR</i>	<i>School for the Motor H.</i>	<i>School for the Health Im.</i>	<i>Total</i>
Full-Time Teacher	22,812	10,470	3,460	36,812
Part-Time Teacher	439	211	61	711

### On-the-Job Training of Teachers and the Content of Training Programs

#### *Internship Training for Newly Appointed Teachers*

Since 1989, internship training for newly appointed elementary school teachers (including special class teachers) has been conducted. Since 1990, this training has been expanded to junior high school teachers, and it will be further expanded to senior high schools and special schools in the following years. Until then, the internship training will be carried out on a trial basis for new teachers.

The purposes of internship training are to improve practical teaching skills, to increase the development of a sense of mission, and to give teachers a wide range of expertise. Employers are required to provide this systematic training which is conducted for one year after appointment. This is performed inside and outside of schools. Education-related training on a ship is also conducted for some new teachers. This training for new appointees is a nationally funded program and positive

outcomes are expected. The amount of the national budget in the 1990 fiscal year was approximately 17 million dollars for internship training.

#### *Sabbatical Study for Special Education Teachers*

This sabbatical study program, started in 1966, is offered to special education teachers or teachers who want to be involved in special study for one year or less at universities. The University of Tsukuba accepts a good number of teachers, and offers them lectures, practicum, field work, and other programs.

#### *Enrollment and Study in Graduate Programs, Graduate Diploma Programs, and Ad Hoc Teacher Training Programs for Special Education Teachers*

These graduate courses are considered to be valuable as training for working teachers and useful in the improvement of the quality of special education. Working teachers take courses with the general student body. This is a good opportunity, not only for the exchange of ideas between the field and universities, but also for making more relevant the contents of lectures and practicum.

Among the problems which teacher educators of special education teachers face in curriculum development are the following:

##### 1. Education for the Blind

- a. Development of blind children
- b. Physiology and pathology of visual impairment
- c. Theory and practice of Braille
- d. Orientation training
- e. The use of equipment that enhances or replaces visual perception

University training of teachers for profound multiple disabled blind children should be expanded.

##### 2. Education for the Deaf

- a. Audiology and using residual hearing
- b. Speech science
- c. Communication methods (including manual communication)
- d. Psychological adjustment and counseling
- e. Others

There is a need to improve professional education.

##### 3. Education for the Handicapped

- a. Fundamental knowledge of physical and mental development
- b. Psychological and education evaluation

- c. Physiology and pathology of mental retardation, cerebral palsy, and health impairment
- d. Teaching methods based on disability and impairment
- e. Others

4. Education of the Speech Impaired—Problems observed with the speech-impaired curriculum are those commonly observed in all teacher education, but there is an additional task of coordinating these aspects and professional teacher education.

5. Education of the Emotionally Disturbed—It is a very important task to develop a curriculum to improve the education for children who are autistic, mentally ill, and behaviorally disordered.

6. Education of the Learning Disabled—Unlike the United States, the learning disabled curriculum has not been officially incorporated into the educational system of Japan. The present situation is far from the ideal special education teacher education. Although there are a limited number of staff, it is important to deal with this problem soon.

### Conclusion

The number of credits required at universities was increased according to the amendment of the Teacher Certification Law. The teacher education of special education teachers in Japan was improved qualitatively in principle. Response to the amendment was positive; however, many tasks remain to be considered by universities. From the curriculum standpoint of the university, it is a small change to increase the number of credits required; it is not a fundamental reform. The diversity of disabled children demands the diversification of teachers' qualification and this must be reflected in teacher education. Important questions which need to be addressed in the future include:

1. How will the proportion of fundamental tasks and advanced tasks needed by a teacher be reflected by the curriculum?
2. By what latitude and dimension will the knowledge base of special education be constructed?
3. How will the clinical experiences be provided to students?

Suggested Reading

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# Globalism and Teacher Education: Summary of a Comparative Joint Research Project

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## Introduction

Few matters are more important than the quality of the teachers in our nation's schools. Yet, few matters are as neglected. This grievous situation, in considerable measure, is the fault of a society whose values are confused. These words reflect the opening remarks of John Goodlad in his book, *Teachers for Our Nations' Schools* (1990).

Judging from our personal experience and insights as university professors, some aspects of Japanese education are similar to the problems in the United States described by Professor Goodlad. Despite new educational legislation and despite the efforts of universities and colleges, both public and private, the best and the brightest have not always been recruited to the teaching profession. In the Japanese context, intense competition for teaching jobs permits the screening of applicants. The selection of applicants for teaching positions depends on the capabilities of the candidates. Less attention is paid to their level of initiative and commitment. Unfortunately, many bring a nine-to-five ethos to the profession.

Today in Japan, doubt and skepticism exist where certainty and confidence used to reign. The teacher's task is increasingly viewed just as an occupation or as simply a means of earning a living. Few see teaching as

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a mission, a vocation. Furthermore, these new teachers do not seem to see the importance of values in the justification of educational goals. Reality conflicts too much with talk about humanism. In addition, many teachers resent the weakening of their social status, their diminishing prestige, and often precarious financial situation. For them, a sense of service and participation in collective causes cannot provide adequate compensation for these deficiencies. Whereas for generations teachers occupied a central place in the social structure, they are now shifting ever nearer to the periphery, and this decline in status accounts largely for reserved, sometimes even apathetic, attitudes. Something seems to be wrong with the present schemes of educating and recruiting teachers. Radical reforms are clearly needed.

On one side of the Pacific, the Holmes Group (1986) postulated five goals of teacher education reform. In Japan, a series of issues relating to teacher education has been discussed at the national level and several guidelines for reform have been recommended. On both sides some changes have been made, and others have been advocated.

Today people, goods, information, and resources flow freely across national boundaries. In a similar vein, the U.S. Congress has stated that "there has arisen a new global economy in which trade, technological development, investment and services form an integrated system." Recognizing the vital role that international trade and foreign investment play along with immigration, tourism, and cultural exchange, many U.S. political and business leaders at the national, state, and local levels are calling for improvements and expansion of international studies in the nation's schools, colleges, and universities. In the United States the National Governor's Association recommended in 1989 that global, international, and foreign language education become part of the basic education for all students and that each state take action to expand their international programs.

Similarly, there is a widespread recognition that effective citizenship today requires a global perspective. The dramatic increase in the scale of human activities on the planet earth; increasing interdependence among peoples, nations, and cultures; and the pressures on the earth's atmosphere creating concerns about environmental health pose challenges that can only be met by well-informed citizens. Meeting the needs of our society without diminishing the prospects of future generations requires that an increasing number of citizens understand and become concerned about global issues. Enough people must see the situation and the problems clearly enough for a cogent response to occur. Information, knowledge, and understanding are at the core of enlightened citizenship.

Citizens of both nations cannot deal effectively with international, economic, political, and environmental issues without developing greater international competence. Capacities such as the ability (a) to communicate with people from different ethnic and national backgrounds; (b) to understand other cultures; and (c) to see relationships between population growth, rising standards of living, and environmental problems must become an integral part of the education of all of our citizens. Compelling and pervasive global problems can only be addressed by informed, collaborative action. The increasing internationalization of society and interdependence among people and nations makes it imperative that education in both the United States and Japan include a global dimension.

In a technologically complex, knowledge-based global economy our colleges and universities, along with our elementary and secondary schools, must actively foster the major goals of a well-educated, globally aware citizenry. The situation calls for urgent attention and widespread understanding. Teacher education with its key role in preparing those most responsible for the formal education of the nation's children and youth must rise to the challenge.

### Hypotheses

Globalism should constitute an important intellectual dimension of the knowledge-base of teacher education. We advance the following hypotheses:

Proposition 1: Globalism can be the base upon which the intellectual innovation of teacher education will be placed.

Proposition 2: Education is an enterprise for both individuals and groups which liberates them from their limits or constraints.

Proposition 3: Teachers can and must be the agents of developing the process of education.

In order to generalize, it is reasonable and useful to set up and use a theoretical framework, through which data collection, data classification, and comparisons could be made. We chose the concept of globalism and, in particular, applied Hanvey's (1978) frame of reference for global awareness. The basic assumptions are as follows:

1. Societies develop morphogenetically. The view of a single world within a delicate and finite environment needs to be reexamined.
2. Global education emphasizes human commonalities, basic human

qualities, which may be found across cultural and ethnic diversities. This must be tested.

3. "Perceptive consciousness" is a basic element in globalism.

### Methodology

Hanvey's perceptive consciousness is a new factor in global education which became prevalent in American schools in the 1980s. Hanvey's theory relates to a conception of multiple loyalties. The global view represents an integrated worldview in which an individual may be seen as a member of relevant groups. The educational effect of these different loyalties deserves to be examined. On the other hand, the knowledge-based approach may require an identification of the most relevant knowledge relevant to globalism that can be applied to teacher education.

From these points of view, we conducted a survey to determine college students' (preservice teachers) awareness of globalism. The questionnaire was designed to determine the students' awareness of each of the aspects of Hanvey's framework.

### Analyses of the Answers from the Examinees

Ten questions were prepared to describe the awareness about the conditions of the world held by the students at Indiana and Waseda Universities. As is seen in the profiles of the students in the Appendix to this article, the backgrounds of the students vary. However, student responses reveal commonalities and support arguments for the introduction of the principles of globalism into teacher education. The results of the questionnaire-survey conducted on each campus are contrasted below.

Each question is shortened to present only the central point.

#### *Question 1: Provide Three Examples Which Illustrate the Characteristics of Present Global Trends Within the Last Two Decades*

*Japanese answers.* The answers made by the Japanese group are varied, but they generally could be divided into 7 categories:

Natural environment	69	Population	3
Politics	123	Economics	75
Society	124	Nationalism	3
Technology	29		

Awareness of global concerns included examples such as:

1. Natural environment—destruction of the environment, such as issues of the ozonosphere, the greenhouse effect, pollution, deforestation, and the shrinking whale population.
2. Population—issues of the food-supply, and starvation.
3. Politics—issues of internationalization, like the unification of Germany, the termination of the cold-war, perestroika, disarmament, the Chinese massacre, and the Japanese Northern Territories.
4. Economics—issues of liberalism and interdependence, such as the U.S.-Japan trade imbalance, trade liberalization, the European Community, and the transition of the USSR to a market economy.
5. Society—issues between societies and war such as the Gulf War, nuclear weapons, and the United Nations forces; more concretely, atomic reactors, refugees, an internationalized society, the international literacy movement, foreign labor forces, and Japan's war crimes.
6. Nationalism—the issue of apartheid.
7. Technology (energy)—the issue of the information revolution, transfer of technology, innovation in transportation, and space development.

It is interesting to note that no student identified religion as a global trend.

*U.S. answers.* When asked to provide examples that illustrate present global trends, the responses of the U.S. students could be characterized as follows:

1. An awareness of interdependence, cooperation, and competition. This awareness applied to communication, travel, trade, international exchange, international business, and technology.
2. An awareness of environmental concerns, such as whales, recycling, the ivory trade, Chernobyl, and global warming.
3. Concern over the increase of nuclear weapons.

More peripherally, students mentioned the Chinese massacre, the decreasing economic strength of the United States, AIDS, the eradication of smallpox, and the population problem. Either through the news media or previous coursework, these college juniors (3rd-year students) could identify some global trends.

*Question 2: Provide Examples of One or Two World Issues Which Require a Review of Your Education or of the Coming Generation's Education and Explain Why You Chose These Examples*

*Japanese answers.* The responses made by the Japanese students showed the same trends as when they replied to the first question, with

some overlapping. Eight categories were used and the frequencies selected were as follows:

Natural environment	50	Population	22
Politics	15	Economics	13
Society	67	Nationalism	8
Religion	2	Technology	12

Within concerns for the natural environment are such topics as the conservation of forests, land-infertility, meteorological irregularity, and the dumping of waste materials. Under population growth concerns, some disclosed their anxiety about the unbalanced demographical changes between industrialized countries and underindustrialized areas, the food supply, and the impact of immigration. The East-West issue, relations between North and South Korea and Japan, ideological differences among nations, and disarmament were the topics noted under political concerns. Under economics, trade imbalances, North-South issues, and technological civilization were the main concerns for them. Many subjects were mentioned under the category of society: war, immigration, discrimination, education, social welfare, gerontology, changing life styles, and changing awareness of living.

In their understanding of racial discrimination, these future teachers noted the Israel-Palestine issue and the Lithuanian independence effort. Religious difficulties were identified in the issues of Palestine. Some noted that Christianity and other religions could be a new facet in the emerging East European political regimes.

In the domain of technology and energy conservation, the students indicated that all people have to tackle the issues concerned with the technological revolution, the effects of which will not always be harmonious with the health of the world in which humankind must survive.

Great concerns are shared by the Japanese students about the environmental condition of the earth. When asked if such an issue can be an important element of education, their illustrative reactions were as follows:

It is the minimum requirement for us to retain the earth simply because it is the only place for us to live. And, it is required that we keep it clean for future generations. It is therefore urgent for education to focus on this. Nature is not for the few but for all. In order to stop destroying it, we need to cooperate with one another to protect it from exploitation. Education is indispensable.

Regarding the circumstances that are destructive of nature and cultural values, some of the Japanese students asserted that wars are most destructive. Children saw the Gulf War on television. Teachers should

show students clearly how important it is for us all to retain peace, should tell them what their state thinks of war, and should encourage them to seek measures by which war can be abolished. Some other students say that the population explosion can be most destructive for the ecological environment of the earth. Some suggested that immigration from Asian countries to Japan will create new social issues making it a "melting pot" full of crises unknown at the present time. Education about this is urgently needed.

*U.S. answers.* The issue most frequently mentioned by the U.S. students was the health of the environment. An illustrative response is, "Every person in the world must work together with others and do his or her part to make the earth a healthy place to live." Other frequently mentioned topics were: the role of minorities and the need to understand other cultures if we are all going to live together, and hunger/poverty. When the students were asked if these persistent world issues have any implications for the education of teachers, they emphasized the teacher's responsibility to be intellectually prepared to address these issues with their pupils.

The contrast between the U.S. and Japanese responses reveal few differences. With larger samples from the United States, it will be possible for us to generalize about young people's global awareness or consciousness, regardless of their previous course subjects and personal interests about world conditions, and their implications. It is possible, however, for us to say that their viewpoints are diverse. It reflects the complexity of the situation and shows that it would be rather difficult for them to solve such issues. They need appropriate education and we should provide them with it. Hence, the following question was asked.

*Question 3: Do These Persistent World Issues Have Some Implications for the Education of Teachers?*

*Japanese answers.* Japanese students responded in the following manner:

1. yes	102	71.3%
2. no	8	5.6%
3. unanswerable	29	20.3%
4. n.a.	4	n

The reasons why they believe persistent world issues have some implication for the education of teachers include:

1. Teachers should recognize the issues.	48
2. These are the basic points for education.	11

3. The most important issues are those dealing with the quality of human life.	6
4. It is necessary for children to be aware of these problems.	6
5. Factual data on such issues is necessary in the education process.	9
6. Elements of such issues are necessary for teacher education.	5
7. Others.	11

Those who judgments are negative stated that the solution of such issues should be the task of politicians, and teachers should be neutral and not take positions on potentially controversial issues.

*U.S. answers.* Students' responses emphasized the teacher's responsibility to be intellectually and professionally prepared to address these issues with their students.

*Question 4: Education is an Enterprise Both for Individuals and for the Whole of Humankind in That It May Have the Potential:*

- a. *To Liberate Individual Human Beings From Their Natural Constraints and From Their Institutional Environments,*
- b. *To Liberate All of Humankind From Natural Geographic, Historical, Socioeconomic, Sociopolitical, and Cultural Limits.*

*What Do You Think of Statements "a" and "b"?*

*Japanese answers.* Students responded as follows:

	statement "a"	statement "b"
1. affirmative	27	16
2. conditional	17	21
3. skeptical	38	39
4. negative	15	16
5. non-understanding	13	11
6. meaningless	22	25
7. no answer	12	6

Those who responded skeptically or negatively can be divided into four groups: (a) the first group asserted that the implication of the hypotheses does not match the reality of schooling; (b) the second group denied the hypotheses on the ground that the function of education is to help the younger generations adapt to the existing society and that nationalism and its exclusionism could make liberation an illusion; and

(c) the third group held the view that judging from the theoretical functions of conservative educational institutions, the key concepts of education should be linked to the conservation of the human community and liberation of any kind must be limited to the domain of the mental or spiritual sphere.

The fourth group thought the hypotheses improper because they found it necessary to redefine the concept of liberation and the feeling that the concept of education should be integrated into a new notion of life: Schooling, they felt, should be limited.

*U.S. answers.* More students (11) failed to respond to these questions than any other. Of those who did respond, 11 of the responses demonstrated agreement with both a and b, and six of the responses reflected skepticism that education could deliver the aims embedded in the questions. For example, one skeptical response read as follows: "Very true—I hope education can do this with everyone, but presently it does not."

*Question 5: Is There Any Possibility That Schools Could Take Steps to Develop Students' Perspective Consciousness and Other Dimensions Leading to a Global Perspective? Why or Why Not?*

*Japanese answers.* Japanese students responded in the following manner:

1. possible	75	53.5%
2. impossible	23	16.3%
3. indeterminable	42	30.0%
4. no answer	3	n

More than half of the students think it is possible for schools to tackle the tasks. Nearly half of them, however, think it would not be easy for the schools to do so. The reasons why the latter are rather negative include:

1. The present day school education only fosters learning that is formal or uniform.
2. The teachers are not comfortable in presenting their personal viewpoints.
3. It is difficult for anyone to understand different cultures against which awareness or consciousness of the world can be developed.
4. As a method, discussion cannot always probe the process of rationalization of various value systems in each individual, state, and/or nation.

*U.S. answers.* Overwhelmingly, student responses agreed that schools could indeed develop global perspectives. A wide range of approaches

were suggested: role-playing, language and cultural study, multicultural education, use of literature, and so on.

*Question 6: If Direct Experiences Are Limited, How Could Advanced Techniques of Confirmation Provide You With a Balanced Image of the World?*

*Japanese answers.* Students responded as follows:

1. possible	34	23.9%
2. impossible	65	45.8%
3. indeterminable	43	30.3%
4. no answer	1	n

It seemed rather difficult for many Japanese students to reach a well-balanced view of the world, despite technology. This is in sharp contrast to the positive attitude Americans have toward this possibility.

The negative samples are illustrated below:

1. Information does not always convey the same connotations.
2. Delivery of information cannot be free from subjectivity.
3. The notion of a balanced image of the world is vague.
4. Reality is not equal to truth.
5. Information turns into economic profits, and politics often control information.
6. The networks that develop determine what information reaches the students and how they use it.
7. The availability and nature of information services limits student access to information.

*U.S. answers.* Students' responses include a wide range of suggestions: pen pals, video, media, culture study, bilingual education, human resources, satellite communication, computer links, and so on. Both conventional and new technologies were identified:

*Question 7: Suppose the School Does Not Work at the Task of Increasing the Opportunity for Individuals to Process Information Intellectually About World Conditions or Provide the Simpler Task of Transmitting Raw Information About Such Conditions. Can a "State of the Planet" Awareness Be Achieved Among People or Children?*

*Japanese answers.* Students answered this question as follows:

1. negative	31	21.8%
2. positive	95	66.9%
3. unknown	17	11.3%

The Japanese students think the school is not the sole organ for bettering the understanding of people on world conditions. About 70% of the group believes that (a) we have many sources for information outside of school; (b) normal surroundings of life inform us; (c) knowledge retained from school tends to be old-fashioned; and (d) the five senses, imagination, and the faculty of reasoning of human beings each help in establishing total views of the world. To some extent, these responses contradict the answers given by them on Question 6, where they thought it was difficult for them to arrive at a balanced image of the world.

*U.S. answers.* Two thirds (12) of the students agreed with this statement. These responses are captured by such comments as:

The only way children can become aware of world conditions is to be provided the basic information and the skills to process the information. If it is not discussed or brought to their attention, they won't know what is important.

At the same time, a few students expressed skepticism about the role of the schools. For example, "School is not the only means people have of learning."

#### *Question 8: Why Would It Be Difficult to Achieve Any Complete Understanding of Another Culture?*

*Japanese answers.* Students explained why it is difficult to understand other cultures:

1. The essence of the national value system and culture are an obstacle (61).
2. The tendency to rank one's own culture as the best prevents people from understanding other cultures (24).
3. Culture is life, and it is difficult to know other lives wholly (12).
4. It is beyond one to know all aspects of another culture (9).
5. Different views of values work to prevent understanding (8).
6. People tend to remain loyal to their own culture and reject others (7).

Some students explained that every culture could not always consist of common elements. It is theoretically impossible to understand something not found in one's own culture. Culture is nothing but a system of beliefs, and believing is a form of projecting oneself into life.

*U.S. answers.* Students explained the difficulties associated with understanding other cultures as follows: (a) because ethnocentrism is usu-

ally dominant, (b) because culture is not wholly tangible, (c) because you have to become part of a culture to fully understand it, and (d) because human nature is suspicious of something new or different.

*Question 9: Given the Three Levels of Cross-Cultural Awareness Listed Below (Awareness of How Another Culture Feels From the Standpoint of the Other Differences in Cultural Traits—Superficial or Very Visible Traits), Indicate the Best Means of Creating That Level of Awareness. Choice of Means:*

- a. Intellectual Analysis
- b. Tourism Textbooks, National Geographic
- c. Cultural Immersion; Living in the Culture

*Japanese answers.* The responses by students to this question reflect confusion. Their judgments are equivocal. It is not difficult for them to tell why it is difficult to understand other cultures as is shown in Question 8 but it is rather hard for them to simplify their conclusion about ways of increasing global awareness.

*U.S. answers.* This group of students responded in the following manner:

Levels of Cross-Cultural Awareness	Dominant Answer
Awareness of how another culture feels from the standpoint of another	Cultural immersion (c)
Awareness of the significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast markedly with one's own	Tourism, texts, etc. (b)
Awareness of superficial or very visible cultural traits	Tourism, texts, etc. (b)
Both groups of students were able to explain why it is difficult to understand other cultures.	

*Question 10: Let Us Suppose Four Propositions About the Present Trends in the World Are True:*

*Proposition 1: We Are in a Period of Transition, Moving From a Pro-Global to a Global Cognition.*

*Proposition 2: Global Cognition is Characterized by New Knowledge of System Interactions, by New Knowledge of Long-Range and Wide-Range Effects, and by a More Conscious Use of Such Knowledge in Planning Human Action.*

*Proposition 3: As Such, Knowledge and Its Rational Use Expands Human Choices.*

*Proposition 4: An Awareness of This Expanded Range of Choice Constitutes an Important Dimension of a Global Perspective.*

*Judging From Your School Experience, What Can You Say About the Responsibility of Schools Probing the Issues Associated With Present World Trends? Are They Positive or Negative? Why?*

*Japanese answers.* Japanese students' answers were:

1. possible	47	34.3%
2. impossible	40	29.2%
3. incomprehensive	50	36.5%
4. no answer	6	n

Negative answers outnumbered positive answers to this question. The Japanese say that a school is a place where much information and knowledge is accumulated and schools are expected to perform this role. No other social institution can compete with schools' performance of this role. The more complex issues become the higher the expectation for schools to solve them. Some think schools have become social institutions where the impersonal textbook knowledge has been replaced by insights into factual life. As one student commented, "If we raise some issues to children who are full of curiosity, they will learn to understand."

On the other hand, some of the students are quite skeptical of the possibility of schools' probing issues associated with world trends. One of their comments reads as follows:

A school is a system which is a portion of the larger system of which we are critical. A school is closely involved in the world-wide system from which the issues have come. A school cannot be expected to function as an innovator.

Others would say the potential of the teaching profession today is low and not promising. Not a few students referred to the ill-effect of stringent entrance examinations and they clearly see a discrepancy between the ideals and the practices of education.

*U.S. answers.* Only a small number of students responded to this question (possibly due to lack of time). Ten students agreed that it was possible for schools to probe the issues associated with the world trends. One stated: "I never learned much about global issues, but it is important to know what is going on as a citizen of the world."

### Findings

1. Awareness distributed according to types of Hanvey's framework is considerable. Judging from the responses given to Question 1 and 2 by the Japanese group, however, their interest in religious aspects of life is not high.
2. The relation between education and world-wide issues is very close. Student attitudes toward education's role are not always positive.
3. Many global issues should be included or referred to in the courses for teaching qualification. The U.S. students replied that future teachers should be prepared intellectually for dealing with these issues and the Japanese students thought the issues should be made evident to all teachers.
4. As to the hypothetical definition of teachers' professionalism, many U.S. students expect they should or could be professionals. However, so far as the Japanese responses are concerned, the majority are skeptical of the idea.
5. Many of the U.S. and Japanese students think it possible for schools to afford comprehensive views of the world.
6. Any kind of awareness of pupils or students may depend on the quality and quantity of information.
7. As to the reason for the difficulty in understanding different cultures, both groups have similar responses that emphasize ethnocentric understanding.
8. Despite the variety of reasons for the difficulty of understanding different cultures, it is rather hard for most of the students from the United States and Japan to formalize or generalize these into abstractions.
9. As to the awareness of human choices, there seems to be a sharp contrast between American students and Japanese. Most of Japanese students are skeptical of schools and their capacity to realize such educational goals.

### Interpretation

An example of change is reflected in the students' awareness of global situations. It is quite vital and crucial that these types of changing consciousness are held within the international community. We have to have a full realization of its implications. The recent upsurge of post-modernism in an affluent society discounts the linear spread of modernity and discards the blind faith in the modernization processes. Most students are susceptible to the inner trends of their societies and

tend to be skeptical of public education. This can be an object of critical reassessment.

Returning to the domain of practical teaching, any usage of knowledge in the learning processes may require pedagogical prescriptions. From the viewpoint of knowing and developing students' knowledge, they should be taught, to the extent that they may be able to think critically, systematically, and comprehensively, to help them sympathize, understand, and create a better world. In the framework of globalism, pedagogical prescriptions should state:

1. "Knowing what" means knowing about world conditions, cultures, history, and global issues.
2. "Knowing how" means knowing:
  - a. how to relate cross-culturally,
  - b. how to think critically,
  - c. how to cooperate, and
  - d. how to empathize.
3. Both dimensions of "knowing" should be integrated so that learners can be liberated as genuine independent agents being capable of creating a human future through the solutions of global issues around them.

The simple application of the findings suggest that globalism may serve as a knowledge-base when it is systematically established as an independent discipline or an "emerging paradigm."

### Concluding Remarks

Educators cannot continue to function as national practitioners. Few can stick to the old style of thinking and behaving as they once did. Criticism of "pre-space-age thinking," for example, reflects a shift in the situation and discloses the latent crises of a world-wide system of human societies including their political, economic, social, and cultural subsystems. Underneath this is a more fundamental change in human civilization. As it is irrelevant for any society to import a ready-made model of modernization, so it is for any to import or to export an education system. Innovation in teacher education can be most difficult. Globalism as a paradigm is still vague in shape and characteristic. However, the recent discussion about system theories show that the world is moving very slowly but steadily toward a new system. In a global age, the teaching profession should be reformed, and the ways of educating and training teachers also need to be transformed. Comparative globalism may work as a strategy for innovation in teacher education.

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**Appendix**  
**Profiles of the Samples**

**(1) American Students**

1. Indiana University: teachers' certificate course
2. Twenty-six 3rd year students

**(2) Japanese Students**

1. Waseda University: teachers' certificate course
2. One hundred and forty-one students, whose attributes are as follows:

Schools	Year in College				Total
	1	2	3	4	
Human sciences	4		2		6
Natural sciences & technology	13	22	1		36
Literature (evening course)	7	14			21
Social science (evening course)	2	1	4		7
Law			1		1
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>7</b>		<b>71</b>
<b>Education</b>					
Education				26	26
Japanese literature		3			3
English literature	4		2		6
History & geography	2			1	3
Social science	1			1	2
Biology	2				2
Geology	1	1			2
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>Unknown</b>					<b>25</b>
<b>Graduate school</b>					
Natural science	1				1
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>141</b>

# Reinspiring Japanese Educational Objectives

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*Shuji Wada*

## A Brief Overview of the History of Modern Japanese Education: Early Modernization and Wakon Yōsai (Japanese Spirit, Western Technology) Education

Modern Japanese education began with the 1872 Education System. At that time the greatest concern of the government was to ward off the advances of the Western powers and preserve Japanese independence. This aim was pursued through a policy of rapid modernization, more specifically known as *fukoku kyōhei* (wealthy country and strong army).

The members of the Meiji government looked to England, the United States, France, and Germany for models of modernization, and, with the 1889 Japanese Imperial Constitution, they founded the national political structure on a German model. In 1890, the Imperial Rescript on Education was promulgated to serve as the moral compass of the educational system. The Rescript would provide ethical direction and objectives for Japanese education throughout the pre-war period and until 1945.

“Modernization” may be understood broadly as a combination of industrial development and democratization. Built on a foundation of rationalist thought, it covered both spiritual and physical aspects of life. The historical process of modernization began in Europe, and was built on a rationalistic view of human beings. This concept of “rationalism” means that the almost mechanistic ability of individuals to think and act rationally is emphasized in the consideration of their role in society. Such a view of humans and the world provided the foundation for the development of science and technical prowess.

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The environment in which rationalism developed in Europe was the tradition of belief in the Christian God as the creator of the world, but the Meiji government cast away these traditional spiritual supports while injecting only the scientific and technical aspects of Western knowledge and thinking into Japan. Instead of Christianity, they created a new ideology out of the Confucian tradition and encouraged the development of a nation which was united as a family with the Japanese Emperor in the center. This policy of using Western techniques and structures in tandem with Japanese ideology was called *wakon yōsai* (Japanese spirit, Western technology).

### *Class and the Leadership of Japanese Modernization*

Pre-modern Japan under the Tokugawa Bakufu was divided into regional *Han* governments in a feudal system based on social rank. However, over the course of 250 years of peace under a foreign exclusion policy, the ruling warrior class gradually lost their military significance and was transformed into a bureaucratic class raised in a Confucian ideology. In the process, their dominance of economic, cultural, and traditional matters passed to the merchant and artisan class. Thus, at the end of the Bakufu reign, in addition to the schools for the old warrior class, there were small *terakoya* schools teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic to commoners throughout the country.

Pressed by the Western powers, the leaders of the Meiji Revolution desperately felt the need to reform Japan's political structure. The paths they chose partially reflect their social position and Confucian acculturation. The room for agreement between their Confucianism and the spirit of capitalism may be seen, for example, in their emphasis on rationalism and ascetic ethics, important threads of continuity between the old and new ways of thinking.

It may be said that the goal of pre-war education was, through a centrally standardized elementary school system, to guide the people from feudalism to school-centered attitudes, and to train them in the knowledge essential to modernization while thoroughly propagating the neo-Confucian ideology of the former warrior class to all levels of society.

The schools cooperated with the national goal of a rich country and a strong military by serving as an organ to develop and sort human talent for the national enterprise. Meanwhile, for the commoners, the schools served as an unprecedented and rapid path to advancement (*risshin shusse*).

*Taisho Era Democracy and Liberal Education*

With victories in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, Japan reached its goal of stable independence, and, with further victories in the First World War, it took its place among the world military powers. Domestically, this meant that the various opinions which had always divided the modernizers in Japan polarized them into outright opposition, and divided the modernizers.

One aspect of the new division was the spread of a liberal movement among intellectuals and especially among teachers. Another was the appearance of a socialist ideology in response to the class opposition which grew up with the development of capitalism. These and other movements and ideologies were taken by the conservatives as threats to national unity and and a nationalistic ideology.

The result was a period of relative political variety and balance known as the Taisho Democracy. During this period, new educational ideas from the West along with numerous Japanese educational reform attempts interacted to create the Taisho Liberal Education period. This period was characterized by a liberal atmosphere, and it outlasted the Taisho era, continuing into the early 1930s.

However, amidst the Great Depression and the accompanying social unrest and deterioration of international economic and diplomatic relations, Japan embarked on imperialist invasions in Asia. In the educational world this meant the adoption of militarism and supra-nationalism by the schools. Finally, it led to defeat in war and total reformation under the occupying United States armed forces.

*Post-War Educational Reform and Faith in Science*

Post-war education was characterized by Japanese pacifism and democratization under the Occupation and an American educational supervisory commission. Under their guidance, the Imperial Rescript on education was discarded and an educational revolution was carried out according to the provisions of the Fundamental Education Law of 1946. The old European style multi-track educational system was replaced by common schools with a 6-3-3-4 system. The goal was to create a peaceful, cultured nation and to make the development of democratic personalities the objective of national education.

However, in my opinion, the liberal politicians and educators who led the educational reforms painted the whole pre-war picture with only one color, calling it a dark age of militarism and nationalism. In order to emphasize the need for reform they found the causes for militarism in

the incomplete adoption of Western principles of modernization, or, to put it in other words, they blamed it on the persistence of pre-modern feudalistic social characteristics. This became the mainstream of intellectual and educational debate in Japan. However, this kind of argument bred an intellectual and emotional denial of the value of Japanese culture and history among Japanese youth, and produced only a passive approach to pacifism. In perspective, this approach seems to have produced a tendency to avoid any enthusiastic participation in international political affairs and to have led to the concentration of energy only on economic affairs.

Furthermore, the division of Asia and of the world into opposing camps during the U.S.-Soviet Cold War was reflected by the Japanese split into violently opposed conservative and reformist camps of governmental ideology. This split carried over into the educational world. As a result, nearly everyone involved in education avoided teaching about values, faith, and ethics for fear of causing trouble. In response to this, in 1958 the government and conservative party produced an ethics curriculum in order to strengthen ethical education, but it is doubtful whether this has been widely practiced in the schools.

When agreement on education for ethics and values becomes difficult, the content of education in schools tends to be reduced to scientific and rational knowledge. In my opinion, this means that the foundation of post-war education was built only on science and the simple assumption that scientific and technical advancement will bring human progress.

### *Changes in Post-War Society and Educational Turmoil*

The valuing of economic achievement in daily life and scientism in education may be said to be the hidden common faith of the Japanese. As a result, beginning in the 1960s, Japanese society experienced rapid and extensive industrialization and urbanization which created materialistic abundance. However, at the same time, peoples' lives also grew tremendously busy and frenetic. Children were not immune to the effects of the change, and the same period saw a host of new problems among them. Representative problems are apathy, disinterest, and irresponsibility, reflecting the increasingly passive and uninvolved attitude of children. Also notable are increased juvenile delinquency at younger ages, refusal to attend school, increased dropout rates, and violence at home and in school. The problems of educational turmoil and decline were widely discussed social problems in the 1970s.

However, the problem is not merely one of children. For children are deeply dependent on adults for the nature of their existence, which is to

say that they rely on adults as models for their development into adult human beings. The disruptiveness of modern children is closely connected with the adult generation's busy lives and lack of composure. That lack of calm can be attributed to the loss of a viewpoint or beliefs which help people see beyond their own situations or to think about the future. This is true because when people lack high ideals, they will be attracted to the pursuit of personal advantage. Since there is no end to possible advantages and each advantage leads in different directions of pursuit, life in pursuit of personal benefit only becomes more and more fragmented and more and more busy.

### Education to Meet the Challenges of a New Conception of the World

#### *Excesses Arising from the Model of Autonomous Individuals*

The appearance of problems among youth is not unique to Japan. To a certain extent, they are common to all the industrialized countries, and they were noted in the 19th century by philosophers such as Nietzsche. These problems arise from the influence of modern humanism on individuals. The idea of the modern rational self is essentially autonomous and mechanistic in its conception, and, when taken to its logical conclusion, it encourages individual calculation of advantage and the use of other people and things primarily for one's own advantage. In this way, humanism leads inevitably to egoism, from whence, by convincing people to deny the existence of any absolute value other than their own will to achieve power, it arrives eventually at nihilism. When the struggles of life thus become battles to surpass all others, greater advantages are always possible, and the desire for more things to consume is freed from all restraints. The consequent destruction of the environment is no longer restrained by the guardians of "rationality," but only by the limits of human power. The spectacle forces one to consider that perhaps the modern ecological disaster is not an inevitable side-effect of human development, but a result of societies built on the pillars of humanism and egoism.

Fortunately, since the 1970s, people from all parts of the world have begun to strive to overcome old ideological barriers and seek ways to join together to protect the environment of the whole earth. This has come about through a rapid technological revolution since World War II which ties together individuals, companies, and countries, causing the acts even of individuals to have an effect on all of humanity. This change has made people seriously concerned about the possibilities for sudden

extinction of the human race—and nuclear weapons are no longer our only cause for fearing the destruction of the species.

Accordingly, the most important thing we have to say to the world is that each person, each company, and each country faces the need to overcome egoism, and, for the purpose of living together with other humans and other living beings, we need to make a fundamental change in our approach to life. To respond to these new world-wide problems, we must shape decisions not only according to our private goals, but also to act with consideration for the interests and possible needs of others. To accomplish this, we must not look at different people and things as unimportant or uninteresting factors to be avoided. Rather, we should look to them as potential teachers of an unknown world of knowledge, and, treating them as partners, enthusiastically invite them into our own lives. Nor can we afford to think of choices as "this or that" problems. Rather, we need to look for the connections with other possibilities, the way things change, and always be on the lookout for potential development; in short, we need to adopt a way of looking at things and thinking about them through which we can grasp their full nature. All this is required of us if we are to escape the blind alleys of contradiction to which modern humanism and egoism have led us.

*The Special Committee for Education Report—Calling for a New Approach*

In order to promote such a new way of thinking, we are being forced to reconsider the human-centered and mechanistic way of looking at the world which we have for so long accepted as truth. Experience, moreover, has shown us that the early adoption of scientific and rationalistic thought by youths seems to block their creative thinking. The deterministic and reductionist thought contained within scientism instills youths with the idea that the explanation for anything can be reduced to simple causes and effects. This assumption hides the deep significance of the universe's complex interpenetration in our lives and dulls their interest in the changes of the world around them. Youth, moreover, have become fooled into thinking that everything important is known, and sudden encounters with new and unexpected conditions often cause great distress and resistance among them.

In 1986, the National Council on Educational Reform called for the current educational reform which became the "third revolution" after the Meiji and post-war changes. The report called for reflection on the negative influences of modernization. Citing the anticipated need for greater flexibility of thought and a cultivated aesthetic sensitivity among

students in order to develop their ability to judge events with a mature sense of moderation, the report called for "individualization of education" as the standard of the educational revolution. For its efforts to break away from the rigid and standardized old system, the report is worthy of praise.

### *Future Educational Goals: Rediscovering the Buddhist Tradition of Thought*

Despite the positive direction of the committee report, however, very little popular support for its goals has been aroused. In my opinion, the report, for all its fine reasoning and presentation of the problem, was doomed from the beginning by its failure to present either a philosophy or a vision of the future of education with which to inspire the citizens of the country.

If, moreover, the authors of the report wish to expect a higher level of flexible reasoning and a richer aesthetic sense, before they consider the students they must provide for the teachers. To assemble a body of teachers who may pursue the goals of educational reform with confidence, we must provide them with confidence in secure and stable job conditions and goals. Guaranteeing a solid financial base and the freedom to pursue these goals is vital to the task of providing a body of teachers to implement our vision of education.

The decreasing prestige of the teaching position opposes the assembling of a qualified teaching force. Increasingly seen as mere service workers in the educational testing industry by egoistic parents, and pressured by bureaucrats into short term goals of test scores, teachers suffer from overwork and burnout.

Thus if one wishes to create schools which allow freedom of thought and action, as well as nourish spiritual calm among its students, then there is a clear and urgent duty incumbent on adults to search for their own spiritual calm and internal support. Even in modern times the old Buddhist<sup>1</sup> traditions of our country may be found to have much to offer us in solving the problems we now have.

It is the Buddhist traditions that teach us that all things have no constant nature and may be seen as *kū* ("non-substantial" and "ego-

<sup>1</sup>In this essay, the word Buddhism is not intended to mean Buddhism in general, but rather, the Buddhism which has developed in Japan. It has been communicated to Japan, taken in by the people, and fused with the indigenous religion of Shinto. Thus, to accurately characterize the spiritual tradition of the Japanese people, one should call it a Buddhist and Shintoist tradition. In this article, however, I have omitted the reference to Shinto.

less"). They also teach that all things depend on all other things, that every phenomenon is built on innumerable causes, and that they each lead to uncountable effects. All these teachings of Buddhism match the new state of knowledge of the universe, knowledge which recent scientific research is calling on to replace the Newtonian mechanical model of reality—long ago outmoded by the concepts of relativity and quantum mechanics. These teachings are precisely what the interdependent and inter-vulnerable world needs today to build the foundations of a human society which can survive its own power.

Of course, there need be no single philosophy on which the entire new thinking should be founded, but it should be based on something from Japanese spiritual life and traditions. It should be Japanese because when a radical reform is born of native thought patterns, it naturally finds support among the people. Buddhism, not as a historical relic, but as a guide to the future amidst our changing lives, is a valuable tradition for us.

The role of Confucianism and the warrior class in leading Japan through modernization has been discussed above and tends to receive widespread acceptance as a theory. However, I contend that the commoners and especially the farmers with their Buddhist traditions (usually considered to be feudalistic drags on modernization), made great contributions to Japan's successful completion of its struggle for modernization and independence. Basically accepting of the new and unfamiliar, the commoners' role in modernization was to give balance to Japan in a turbulent age. Without their ability to cooperate and work with the unfamiliar, the great changes of the Meiji period might never have been possible. In other words, without the farmers' Buddhist traditions, it is unlikely that modernization would ever have been so successful.

According to Buddhist teaching, the world is full of suffering (*ku*). The source of human suffering is found in the thirsts of desire and the illusions of worldly passion. At the root of all human passion and desire (*bonnō*) lie ignorance and greed which fill human minds. Because of ignorance (*mumyō*), people are constantly thinking wrong thoughts and, losing the right viewpoint, clinging to their egos. The outcome is that they become attached to a delusive existence.

This is because people are unaware of the true principles of the succession of things. It is the everlasting rule of this world that everything is created by a series of causes and conditions (*en*) and everything disappears as these causes and conditions change and pass away.

As everything is a concordance and succession of causes and conditions, a thing itself does not exist. So it can be said that it is nonexistent.

At the same time, because a thing has a relative connection with causes and conditions, it can be said that it is not nonexistent. Since things transcend both the affirmation of existence and the denial of existence, they neither appear nor disappear in their essential nature, and there can be no fundamental distinctions among them. People create the distinctions out of their minds and then believe them to be true.

If we learn that there is no world of delusion outside the mind, the bewildered mind becomes clear, and we attain Enlightenment (*satori*). The important thing in following the path to Enlightenment is to avoid being caught and entangled in any extreme; as long as people desire Enlightenment and grasp at it, this means that delusion is still with them. They must not grasp at it, and if they reach Enlightenment, they must not linger in it.

When people attain Enlightenment in this sense, it means that everything is Enlightenment itself as it is. Wherever there is light, there is shadow. Likewise, Enlightenment exists solely because of delusion and ignorance; delusion and ignorance exist because of Enlightenment. Since things do not differ in their essential nature, there can be no duality. The path to Enlightenment is the Middle Way, where duality merges into oneness.

Buddha is one who attained Enlightenment, and the people are those who are capable of attaining Buddhahood. However concealed at the root of worldly desire and forgotten it may be, the human affinity for Buddhahood is never completely extinguished.

But Buddha-nature (*bushō*) does not appear without diligent and faithful effort. Those who seek Enlightenment must follow the three ways (keeping the precepts, practicing concentration of mind, and acting wisely) or the eightfold noble paths (*hashōdō*: right view, right thought, right speech, right behavior, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration). They should cherish the four states of mind too. These states are compassion, tenderness, gladness, and equanimity. For it is these states of mind that make people happy and remove everything that does not make people happy. So, those who seek Enlightenment must make four great vows and train themselves: (a) to save all people, (b) to renounce all worldly desires, (c) to learn all the Buddhist teachings, and (d) to attain perfect Enlightenment as Shakyamuni Buddha did.

If a person's mind becomes pure and peaceful, that person's surroundings will also become pure and peaceful. As the light of a small candle will spread from one to another in succession, so the single pure mind draws other kindred minds to itself in fellowship. Thus this land will turn into Buddha's Land.

The preceding several paragraphs cover various aspects of the Buddhist way of thinking. I have included them in this article because many of what are so often singled out by Westerners as mysterious or incomprehensible "Japanese" characteristics—for example, rapid adaptation to changes, an eclectic lifestyle and set of ideals which sometimes seems a-religious and non-idealistic, an enthusiastic devotion to this-worldly tasks of work, and a strong orientation to group-centered goals—are quite difficult to understand in a coherent way without a grasp of basically Buddhist attitudes.

Such an understanding is also required, I believe, if one is to understand the framework underlying Japanese teachers' interest in the ideals of an all-around "whole-person" approach to education, which inspires in them a wide-ranging sense of responsibility for their students' growth even beyond the limits of the schoolyard. Without an awareness of the missionary-like responsibility of teachers under Buddhist philosophy, the atmosphere of public opinion in Japan which expects and successfully elicits such devoted service will not only be difficult to understand, but also difficult to build on. Buddhist worldviews and the hidden respect and mission which they imply for teachers have provided spiritual support for education in Japan throughout the modern period, and even today these forces manage to provide valuable and much needed support, despite our faded awareness of their vital role.

### *Establishing a New Buddhist-Inspired Philosophy of Education: Three Foundations*

In our modern age, beset by changes and the dark clouds of possible human extinction, our Buddhist tradition may again have a role to play in stabilizing us through the revolution that seems to be coming. The fabric of both society and the environment is being further and further torn apart by modern egotism. If, however, we critically examine Buddhism and work to realize it in our lives and society, it can help guide us to reestablish the dignity of our teachers and to provide our children with a spiritual foundation—the foundation they need to grow into vibrant adults capable of supporting an interdependent national and international society.

Guided by the response of Buddhist philosophy to modern contradictions, I propose that it is necessary for the educators of Japan to aim as rapidly as possible for three goals which I will explain below.

The first of these three goals is to reform our educational ideals to acknowledge the interdependence and shared responsibilities of individual existences. This requires the realization that: (a) humans and nature exist in a

relationship of mutual dependence with humans and all other living things evolving together, and that (b) human fortune and happiness are not to be found in the consumption and ownership of great wealth. Transcending both humanism and naturalism through this realization, educators must set themselves the goal of teaching that a full and meaningful life can be found through deepening the "dialogue" between ourselves and the things that surround us. The challenge is to teach people to value their own feelings, actions, and attitudes which perceive, deepen, refine, and fulfill these dialogical relations.

Reflecting on our current population explosion and lifestyle based on the ideal of pursuing unlimited desire, we are forced to realize that the resources of the planet are limited and that there is no future in the direction of "high (consumption) standards of living." In the end, our fate hinges on our efforts to reexamine our interdependence with the rest of the planet and our ability to recognize our limits.

Satisfaction with less than enough and the art of using poor or scarce materials with deep meaning and in beautiful ways are not mere examples of efficient use of resources. They are born, rather, of a spirit with which finds infinite meaning in limited materials by superseding mere analytical understanding to grasp the transcending meaning and value in these same "limited" things. It is this very spirit which we may seek and find in Buddhist teachings.

This spirit which sees endless possibilities and deep significance in things which are as yet incomplete, is the same spirit with which teachers help children by patiently allowing or teaching them to help themselves. Thus, the same spirit which this age is calling for turns out to be the guiding light and hope for our educators. Indeed, it holds the key to the regeneration of our educational system.

However, the work of schools and educators cannot be accomplished without understanding and cooperation from all of society. Most especially, education requires the cooperation of public administrators and business leaders who have significant influence on the assumptions and structures underlying Japanese education and whose views and prejudices comprise the anchor of educational reform.

Thus, the second urgent goal for educational reform is *to spread an appreciation for the benefits of educational training to all fields*. This may be accomplished by redirecting university research and teaching so that not only future teachers, but also students who aim to enter other fields, will gain awareness of their own fields' roles and obligations to the work of education.

Until now, the overwhelming majority of research and teaching in education departments has worked at the task of gathering knowledge

from closely related fields and applying it to the teaching of students. In the task of researching and theorizing from an educational perspective and applying the results to other fields, however, there has been a great lack of effort. This lack of development in the educational sciences has set undesirable limits on the influence of education. It seems, therefore, that it is necessary to reinspire education departments in the universities to go beyond teacher training and devote themselves also to researching and explaining the significance and interaction of schooling and education to society at large.

The third urgent and essential goal for the positive reform of education in Japan is *to provide guaranteed times and places for teachers themselves to acquire and deepen their own grasp of the holistic tasks and goals which they should pursue as educators*. Concretely, this means establishing a system of research and sabbaticals to be made available to all teachers.

As noted previously, the job of a teacher is essentially a holistic task requiring a flexible outlook including close attention, broad education, and a wide variety of skills. It is a job which cannot be accomplished through short-term achievements and efficiency. Teaching requires great energy and knowledge on the teacher's part. To guarantee these energy and knowledge reserves and allow teachers the opportunity to reflect on their experience and develop new areas of knowledge, the chance for recreational time must be fully guaranteed. In recent years, the Ministry of Education has emphasized continuous education and the establishment of graduate programs in education to improve the quality of teacher education. However, teachers' research in education is not meant to be based on orders from above. It should be a result of the self-motivated inquiry of teachers themselves. Moreover, while paid vacations for university research are available to a limited number of teachers, until a sabbatical system is instituted and guaranteed for all teachers, such research will not produce sufficient results.

In my opinion, these three programs interact with each other and require our efforts that they be instituted together, not in isolation. However, the prospects for these reforms, necessary as they are, do not seem bright.

# The Contemporary Status of the Teaching Profession in Japan: Its Roles, Responsibilities, and Autonomy

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*Tadahiko Inagaki*

## Historical Background of Teacher Autonomy

Teaching is said to be a profession. Its meaning as a profession, however, is not clear and its professional characteristics in terms of skills and roles are rarely defined. The purpose of this article is to analyze the contemporary status and problems of the teaching profession in Japan, focusing on critical issues related to its roles and autonomy that have a significant bearing upon the teaching process.

The teaching profession differs significantly between the United States and Japan. Both the 1986 Carnegie Report (*A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century*) and the 1986 Holmes Group Report (*Tomorrow's Teachers*) emphasize the autonomy of teachers as an important attribute of the teaching profession. In contrast, however, in the report of the National Council of Educational Reform in Japan, there is no reference to the autonomy of the teaching profession, even though teaching is recognized as a profession. The Ministry of Education decides the national curriculum and authorizes textbooks to be used at schools, and the training of beginning teachers is conducted under governmental initiative. Professional bodies have hardly been encouraged to participate actively in reform efforts, as they do in the United States.

Some historical evidence which will shed light upon the status of Japanese teachers is introduced in the following section.

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The Japanese educational system was established during the 1890s. The government issued the Imperial Rescript of Education in 1890, which stipulated the nation's moral and educational objectives which governed Japanese education until 1945. School Orders and accompanying detailed regulations for schools and teachers were issued. The government defined the course of study and claimed authority over the issuance of school textbooks. The principals of each school inspected teaching plans so as to enforce official regulations.

Around the end of the 19th century, both Japan and the United States introduced the Herbartian theory of teaching from Germany as a model for school teaching. There was a major difference between Japan and the United States in the way the Herbartian theory was applied. The Herbartian theory of curriculum construction (cultural-historical stages, centralization) and teaching based on the "methodological unit" was adopted and developed in the United States (Sato, 1980). Meanwhile in Japan, the formal steps of Herbartian teaching theory such as preparation, presentation, comparison, integration, and application were introduced under strict governmental supervision and became prescriptive aspects of the teacher's instructional procedures. Based on this model, teaching was formalized and the teacher's role was restricted only to transmission of prescribed content and materials (Inagaki, 1966).

In Japan, criticism of the increasing formalization of the teaching practice arose around 1900, and resulted in an innovative movement aimed at promoting child-centeredness, the activity of children, and a flexible curriculum. Unfortunately the government regulation limited these innovations, which were introduced mainly in private schools or laboratory schools affiliated with normal schools. Later, the government began to regard the growing influence of the new innovations as a threat to established educational practice and subsequently the new education movement was prohibited by law.

After World War II, a new educational system was established in accordance with the new constitution and new education principles. These educational reforms were carried in accordance with the recommendations of the U.S. Education Mission to Japan. The Mission's report described the status of Japanese teachers as follows (U.S. Education Mission to Japan, 1946):

Teachers have been told exactly what to teach and how to teach it. Teaching has been, by and large, formal and stereotyped. To prevent any deviation from the prescribed content and form, inspectors have been charged with the duty of seeing that printed instructions were followed to the letter.

Further, the report characterized teaching in the prewar period as "teaching in a straight-jacket."

Thus under the new educational system, local control and popular participation were instituted in place of the previous centralized system. Both the postwar curriculum and teaching methods reflected American progressive education, and curriculum regulations, in particular, were significantly loosened. The course of study of 1947 highly encouraged teacher initiatives. This course of study was regarded as a guidebook for teachers in teaching. Its regulative character was not strong. Teachers were assumed to be responsible primarily for the growth of individual students. Teachers' creativeness was encouraged in order to attain this goal.

In early 1950, however, reactions to the reform set in; authority over curriculum regulations and the other educational policies reverted to the central government. The course of study then became prescriptive. All the contents in each subject, moral education, and special activities were uniformly prescribed for all schools throughout the nation. Official authorization of textbooks became more strict.

Since 1958 the course of study was regularly revised almost every 10 years in order to incorporate new objectives. The binding nature of the course of study remains unchanged to the present day.

In addition to this governmental regulation, a social constraint influenced teaching. The rapid increase in student enrollment intensified competition for entrance to both high schools and universities. This stiff competition contributed to the development of the exam-oriented character of school education after 1960.

In order to understand contemporary Japanese education we cannot ignore the phenomenal growth and influence of *juku*. *Juku*, which aims to cram knowledge into students for the entrance examination, expanded rapidly during the last 20 years. Parents' concern with competitive exams have contributed to its growth. Though called "second schools" *juku* now occupies a dominant position in Japanese education, and has influenced teachers' roles and responsibilities.

### Contemporary Status of the Teaching Profession

Before considering the contemporary status of the teaching profession in Japan, the rationale for the autonomy of teaching is discussed briefly below.

In teaching, each individual teacher is expected to help a specific student or specific group learn and develop through specific materials. This means that each student, curricular content, and teacher are quite

specific. Each child has his or her own life history, sensitivity, needs, and cognitive style. Contents and materials of teaching should always be specific to meet the needs of each child or group of children. The teacher should conduct teaching based on the comprehension of each child and teaching materials most appropriate for the child.

Teaching can be described as a series of judgments and decisions under the specific circumstances mentioned above. Teachers are required to think and choose the best plan and method in order for each child to learn. Teachers' autonomy and freedom of teaching must be guaranteed in order that they may make good and optimal decisions for children's sake.

Teacher competence should be recognized and evaluated with particular regard for their ability in decision-making. The process of classroom teaching lies in a series of decisions made by the teacher and can be classified into several stages. I herewith refer to Professor Shulman's "A Model of Pedagogical Reasoning and Action" (1987, p. 15) (see Table 1). In this model, the following three points are important.

First, each of the six steps are an individual teacher's own comprehension, planning, action, evaluation, and reflection. They require subjective reasoning and specific action under his or her decision and selection. For example, in transformation, the teacher is required to make critical decisions. His or her comprehension of students, materials, and teaching must be integrated in a specific situation to make teaching plans. Likewise, his or her interpretation, selection, and decisions are necessary at each step, such as preparation, representation, selection, and adaptation.

Instruction is a process of concrete interaction between the teacher and his or her students in which all the elements of proxemics, oculistics, heptics, kinesics, and vocalics have to be taken into consideration. That is, his or her body expression as well as facial expressions and eye contact take on an important role. The teacher must be sensitive to students so as to be able to respond to them appropriately so as to encourage and reinforce them. Video tapes of classroom teaching help teachers to become aware of the importance of these elements in teaching. This is a step toward reflection on the teaching process.

Second is the development, from comprehension to recombination. Teachers' ability for decision making improves through practice. That is why inservice teacher education is very important. It is an opportunity for teachers' professional development.

Third, professional development refers to both an individual teacher's personal development and development as a member of a group of

Table 1  
*A Model of Pedagogical Reasoning and Action*

*Comprehension*

Of purposes, subject matter structures, ideas within and outside the discipline.

*Transformation*

Preparation: critical interpretation and analysis of texts, structuring and segmenting, development of a curricular repertoire, and clarification of purposes.

Representation: use of a representational repertoire which includes analogies, metaphors, examples, demonstrations, explanations, and so forth.

Selection: choice from among an instructional repertoire which includes modes of teaching, organizing, managing, and arranging.

Adaptation and tailoring to student characteristics: consideration of conceptions, preconceptions, misconceptions, difficulties, language, culture, and motivations, social class, gender, age, ability, aptitude, interests, self concepts, and attention.

*Instruction*

Management, presentations, interactions, group work, discipline, humor, questioning, and other aspects of active teaching, discovery or inquiry instruction, and the observable forms of classroom teaching.

*Evaluation*

Checking for student understanding during interactive teaching.

Testing student understanding at the end of lessons or units.

Evaluating one's own performance, and adjusting for experiences.

*Reflection*

Reviewing, reconstructing, reenacting, and critically analyzing one's own and the class's performance, and grounding explanations in evidence.

*New Comprehensions*

Of purposes, subject matter, students, teaching, and self.

Consolidation of new understanding, and learning from experience.

professionals. Exchanging and sharing teachers' experiences and wisdom on the practice of teaching will help enrich their knowledge and skills of teaching.

Turning to the contemporary status of the teaching profession in Japan, we find the following regulations that constrain teachers autonomy and their ability to make decisions (Inagaki, 1984).

### *Governmental Regulations of Curriculum*

The objectives and content of teaching and the teaching time required are prescribed in the course of study. Teaching content at every grade level is specified in detail, and textbooks are edited according to the course of study.

As mentioned earlier, the course of study has been revised almost every 10 years. Accordingly, textbooks have been revised. Textbooks are published by private companies, but the content of textbooks is carefully monitored by the Ministry of Education. About 500 districts in Japan decide on the adoption of textbooks. Neither individual schools nor individual teachers have the right to decide which textbooks to use. Textbook companies publish teachers' manuals. In addition to these manuals, what is called "AKAHON," a teacher-proof teacher's manual, is published by each company so that teachers may follow these manuals when they teach in the classroom. These manuals are very convenient and handy for teachers. Though they are not required by governmental regulation, many teachers are inclined to use them because they are useful. Workbooks and tests are also published as a set to go with textbooks. This whole set of textbooks, workbooks, and tests deprives teachers of the opportunity to develop creative teaching.

### *Conditions and Constraints*

Class size in Japanese schools is bigger than that of the United States. In elementary schools the maximum number of students is 45. It is not easy to pay attention to individual students in such large classes. Under these circumstances teachers conduct group instruction, ignoring the individual student's aptitudes and problems.

Students who have significantly different characteristics in the classroom are considered to be deviant. They are required to conform to the group rather than encouraged to be different. The school is bureaucratic in enforcing conformity. Teachers who engage in deviant practices are not welcomed. They are usually expected to teach the same content at the same speed by using the same textbooks. This is thought to guar-

antee the equality of education for all students. Parents by and large expect the school to promote cognitive achievement for entrance examinations. These expectations impose pressures on teachers, resulting in their feeling that they must cover and teach everything written in the textbooks.

The comparative research report on secondary school teachers by Gunei Sato indicates a significant difference between Japan and the United States. Japanese teachers depend on the textbooks without much use of other materials (Kudomi et al., 1989). They suffer from the excessive amount of material to teach and shortage of time to cover it. They also feel strong pressure to prepare students for entrance examinations.

*The spread of juku has had a strong influence on classroom teaching.* As student enrollment in higher education increased rapidly in the 1960s, the number of juku increased parallel to the enrollment trend. The expansion of juku has resulted in an increase of parents' expenses for children's education, and also in the change of the teacher's role and responsibility. Differentiation in student achievement between those who attend juku and those who do not has made the teacher's task more difficult.

The constraints and pressures are factors that promote Japanese education "excellence," which is shown in the result of International Education Association Tests (see Table 2). (See Table 3 for percentages of student attendance to juku by grade.)

*Japanese education is viewed as outstanding by foreign observers.* Equality, efficiency, and excellence of educational achievement are reasons for this high evaluation. We can admit that these traits exist. However, we are obliged to realize that the other side of the same coin reveals difficult problems.

Equalization of educational opportunity has been enlarged after World War II. Attendance ratio at the post-secondary level has increased rapidly since 1960. The increase of enrollment eventually has caused and prompted excessive competition in entrance examinations. Secondary schools and colleges are stratified by test scores and school credentials seem to be linked to the structures of occupation and social status.

Efficiency derives from the centralization of the educational administration. The Ministry of Education exercises authority over not only external matters like finance but also internal matters like curriculum and teaching materials. As already pointed out, these governmental regulations weaken the initiatives and autonomy of local authorities, schools, and teachers.

High scores on International Education Association (IEA) tests are

Table 2  
*International Education Association Test Results*

	1875	1885	1895	1905	1915	1925	1935	1947	1955	1965	1970	1975	1978
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Elementary Education	35.2	49.6	61.2	95.6	98.5	99.4	99.6	99.8	99.8	99.8	99.8	99.9	99.9
Secondary Education	0.7	0.8	1.1	4.3	19.9	32.3	39.7	61.7	78.0	83.8	89.2	95.9	96.2
Higher Education	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.9	1.0	2.5	3.0	5.8	8.8	14.6	18.7	30.3	34.0

Source: Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture, *Education in Japan*, 1979.

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Table 3  
*Juku Attendance Percentages by Grade*

	Population of City														
	Total			above 100,000			30,000-99,999			8,000-29,999			below 8,000		
	t.	m.	f.	t.	m.	f.	t.	m.	f.	t.	m.	f.	t.	m.	f.
Total	20.2	21.8	18.4	23.4	25.7	20.9	19.7	21.1	18.2	15.1	15.4	14.7	6.4	7.2	5.5
Elementary School				(29.9)			(25.7)			(18.5)			(12.3)		
t.	12.0	13.3	10.8	14.4	16.2	12.4	11.3	12.0	10.6	8.0	8.3	7.7	3.2	3.1	3.2
1st	3.3	4.4	2.1	3.7	5.0	2.4	3.8	4.6	2.9	1.6	2.6	0.6	1.0	2.0	0.0
2nd	4.8	5.2	4.4	5.3	5.9	4.7	4.9	5.1	4.7	4.1	4.1	4.0	0.4	0.5	0.2
3rd	7.5	7.8	7.2	8.1	8.3	7.8	8.4	8.3	8.6	5.7	6.6	4.7	3.2	3.8	2.5
4th	11.9	13.3	10.6	14.6	17.9	11.4	10.8	11.1	10.5	7.6	5.3	10.0	2.7	2.9	2.5
5th	19.4	21.4	17.2	24.2	27.4	20.6	16.3	16.6	16.1	11.6	12.7	10.5	5.3	2.7	7.9
6th	26.6	28.8	24.3	33.3	36.0	30.5	24.8	27.7	21.8	16.5	16.7	16.2	5.7	6.3	5.1
Secondary School															
t.	38.0	40.6	35.2	44.5	47.8	41.0	38.1	41.1	35.0	28.6	29.2	28.1	11.8	14.1	9.4
7th	37.9	40.2	35.5	(48.6)		(46.0)			(33.3)				(22.8)		
8th	38.7	42.2	34.9	43.9	46.7	41.1	38.5	41.0	36.0	29.1	29.8	28.5	13.4	17.6	9.1
9th	37.4	39.4	35.3	45.0	47.5	42.5	36.6	40.2	32.8	27.1	26.6	27.5	9.9	13.0	10.7

*Note.* Numbers in parentheses are taken from Ministry of Education, "The Research on the Attendance to Juku" (1985). Other data are from Ministry of Education, "The Research on the Attendance to Juku," 1977.

mentioned as evidence of excellence in Japanese education. Japanese education has some advantage over other countries in the IEA tests because of the national curriculum, broad content of instruction, and test-oriented teaching. The quality of achievement is an important issue among Japanese educators. This problem had been discussed by the National Council of Education Reform (1986). The Council's report criticized the emphasis that is placed on school credentials, excessive and prolonged competition in entrance examinations, rigidity and uniformity of the educational system, and memorization in school instruction.

These problems are embedded deeply in Japan's social structure, economic interests, culture, and the social consciousness of the public. Thus it is difficult to implement reform.

An urgent reform which should be carried out is an improvement of the teachers. Teachers are criticized and called to account for their responsibility. They are made scapegoats if students don't perform well on exams. The policy to improve teachers is carried out under governmental initiative covering both preservice and inservice training. The curriculum of universities for teacher education is to be changed by law.

### **The Broad Context of the Teaching Profession's Problems**

The first problem is a gap between societal change and the conservative function of the school. After World War II, Japan underwent radical changes, including constitutional reform, political reform, social and cultural transformation. Particularly since 1960, rapid economic growth has accelerated social and cultural changes that have resulted in a generation gap. Society's values and mores have become more divergent today. The schools, however, have taught traditional and bureaucratic norms under the control of school administrators.

The second problem is a discrepancy between ideals and reality in Japanese education. Under the new constitution and the Fundamental Principles of Education (Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture, 1947), formal education is defined as an agent to build a democratic nation. The Fundamental Principles of Education advocates the aims of education as: dignity of the individual, creation and development of the culture, full development of the personality, academic freedom, and an independent spirit. These ideals provide teachers with a sense of direction. But the conditions under which schooling takes place have changed over the past years even though the Fundamental Principles of Education remain unchanged. Increasing governmental regulations and examination pressures have made those ideals remote from reality. Hence teachers' ideal ethos and social responsibility have gradually faded away.

The third issue is the diffuseness of the teacher's role and overwork. Teachers are responsible for not only teaching subject matter, but also moral education, special activities, and school events, which comprise a variety of activities. Additionally, teachers are expected to take responsibility for discipline, club activities, student government, cleaning, ceremonies, swimming lessons, and so forth. Moreover, they are responsible for student guidance even during the vacation.

Besides all these responsibilities, teachers were expected to assume an unprecedented role in teaching when the revision of the course of study in 1989 took effect. It required both "teaching basics, essentials" and "developing creativity" on subjects of learning. Teachers are required to develop children's creativity in each subject area. How to meet these two requirements poses a problem. Japanese teachers have little experience developing creativity through teaching. Their traditional role is the transmission of knowledge and skills. Further, it is more difficult to attain this under the pressure of the examinations. However, Japanese teachers have endeavored to develop their competence to meet new expectations, even though they have confronted many difficulties as described above.

There are various types of courses, workshops, and meetings offered as part of inservice training. They are classified as follows:

1. training initiated by the Ministry of Education, The Board of Education (prefectural and municipal), the education centers and so on;
2. workshops held by the Teachers' Union;
3. in-house inservice training held at school (formal and informal);
4. informal study groups; and
5. seminar and workshops organized by universities.

Unlike the United States, training sponsored by administrators and informal study groups is dominant, and the participation of universities in inservice education has been dismal in Japan. There are over a hundred informal study groups, and many eager young teachers attend the meetings of those informal groups during the summer vacation.

In order to promote the professionalization of teachers, it is important to examine the quality of inservice education and improve the methods of its education. Inservice education should concentrate on the development of teacher competence as a professional, the research necessary to develop the competence, and the enhancement of professional autonomy.

We may consider two types of education for teachers. The first one will focus on the know-how of teaching techniques, that is, teaching teachers to follow the prescribed procedures. This kind of training has been dominant in the Japanese history of teaching, and it is still prevalent because it is an easy way to train teachers to adopt a teacher-proof model.

The second type should enhance teachers' judgments and decisions in specific situations as illustrated earlier. This kind of training is indispensable for professional development.

In closing, the following is suggested to promote the professionalization of teaching in contemporary Japan:

1. Deregulation of bureaucratic rules and procedures in education, particularly pertaining to curriculum and materials.
2. Development of clinical research on teaching through the cooperation of teachers and researchers. The case methods of the juristic profession and the clinical conference approach of the medical profession are suggested for use in the teaching profession.
3. Involvement of universities in inservice education.

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# Practical Thinking Styles of Teachers: A Comparative Study of Expert and Novice Thought Processes and Its Implications for Rethinking Teacher Education in Japan

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## Introduction: Teacher's Practical Thinking

Our aspiration to build a solid professional culture in Japanese schools will only be an unfulfilled dream without reforming the bureaucratic educational system and without opening an avenue through which teachers can have the power to use their professional wisdom.

In Japan, teachers have not been treated as professionals. Rather, they were regarded as national servants in prewar days, and, after the war, as public servants or technicians obliged to devote themselves to performing predetermined tasks. In particular, since the national curriculum was enacted in 1958, teachers have been mostly deprived of autonomy and freedom in their profession.

However, the concept of teaching as a profession was begun in the

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progressive movement in the 1920s and in the postwar age (1945-1955), and this heritage has been handed down. Innovative teachers have aspired to professional autonomy and freedom. Although their efforts have been restricted under the bureaucratic system, their concept of teaching as a profession has been embodied in formal ways in teacher inservice education.

For example, almost all the elementary schools hold in-house case study workshops based upon classroom observation 3-10 times per year. (In junior or senior high schools, usually 1-3 times per year.) Innumerable teachers record their practices to reflect on them. Many teachers write case books or reports in teacher journals. In addition, numerous voluntary study groups, which mainly utilize case methods, are organized. According to a survey of 3,987 teachers in 1981, over half of them (53%) had been active in some voluntary study groups, excluding the study groups organized by the teachers' union and by school boards, and one-fifth (21%) of the teachers were also active in the union and board study groups (Kamiyama, Sakamoto, Imazu, Sato, & Sato, 1983).

These informal groups of inservice teachers have played a very important role in guaranteeing high quality teaching and in developing teachers' autonomous professionalism within the bureaucratic school system and its traditional culture. If we wish to build a solid professional culture of teachers, we should build on the legacy of professional growth from informal teacher inservice groups. In other words, teachers can open the way to teaching as a profession by enriching the practical knowledge and practical thinking styles embedded in the informal culture of teachers.

Nevertheless, there are many constraints which restrict the professionalism of teachers, that is to say, too detailed prescriptions of the national curriculum, too much content to be taught, too much uniformity in the textbooks recommended by the Ministry of Education, too many students in a classroom (as many as 40 children), too much standardization of the time allotment per class (45 minutes per lesson), too many trivial jobs added to teaching responsibilities, and too much stress and pressure applied by parents and students under the entrance examination system. And, what is more, teachers gradually have been isolated from each other as a result of the public assigning blame to teachers for examination failure, and of ideological conflicts among teachers with respect to recent school crises.

In this article, we analyze teachers' practical thinking styles in order to clarify their practical epistemology. Our research is now in progress, and this article presents some of the results of our research on teachers' thinking styles, along with implications from the findings for rethinking the methods of teacher education in Japan.

### Research Methodology: Purpose, Concepts, and Procedures

It may be well known that expert teachers form and use elaborate practical thinking styles in their teaching. However, teachers' thinking processes are so complicated and so ambiguous that, if we want to illuminate them, we need to define key concepts and devise some effective procedures for analyzing these concepts.

We assumed that teachers' practical thinking might be recognized through studying their thought processes. In particular, what kind of facts about teaching do teachers notice in a lesson, how do they interpret the facts, how do they frame a problem based upon them, how do they probe the cues to solve a problem, and how do they design an alternative lesson plan. Studying these issues may make it possible to capture teachers' thinking styles more clearly.

We designed an approach to illuminate teachers' thoughts by focusing on their monitoring of a videotape record of one lesson. The purpose, concepts, and procedures of our research are the following:

#### *Purpose*

1. To ascertain the existence and functions of practical thinking styles and to describe teachers' thought processes.
2. To identify practical thinking styles of experts and compare them with those of novices.
3. To present several implications for rethinking teacher education in Japan.

#### *Concepts*

1. Teachers' practical thinking styles: The concept of teachers' practical thinking styles is comprehensive. It means a personally consistent (and, usually, implicit) way of thinking (and/or action) about the process of teaching. For example, how she or he detects meaningful facts in a lesson, how she frames and solves a problem in a lesson, and how she reflects upon it. We consider this practical thinking as the contextualized thinking of problem-solving which we can regard as a core element of teachers' professional wisdom.

2. Expert teachers: The concept of "expert" teacher is not only defined by the length of the teaching career or by the breadth of teaching skills. Teaching expertise should be regarded as a more complicated and a more multifarious issue. If we respect teachers as thoughtful practitioners, we must define "expert" teachers in terms of their professional

wisdom developed through long-term creative experiences. We selected five expert teachers who have over 20 years experience and who are the lead teachers of their elementary schools or of some voluntary study groups, while five novice teachers were chosen at random among the first year teachers of elementary schools.

### *Procedures*

1. We sent a videotape of a lesson and an instruction manual to five experts and five novices in April - May, 1990. The videotape was a record of a poetry lesson which was taught by a fifth grade teacher with 15 years classroom experience.

2. The teachers performed the following two tasks according to the instruction manual in May - June:

(a) Thinking-Aloud Task (on-line monitoring): The teachers watched the video and commented on what they saw, felt, and thought without stopping their observation of the lesson. The comments were recorded on cassette tapes. We think these comments (protocol records of on-line monitoring) reflect their usual practical thinking in their own teaching.

(b) Writing Report Task (off-line monitoring): The teachers wrote a short summary of their thoughts just after observing the lesson. These short reports indicate their styles of framing a problem of the lesson.

3. After receiving the teachers' cassette tapes (protocol records) and their short reports, we studied the teachers' thinking styles with both an ideographic (qualitative) approach and a comparative (quantitative) approach. Then, by comparing the experts' thinking styles with the novices, we utilized an "idea unit" analysis by setting up the following categories:

What Teachers Say (write): Teacher's or student's verbal activity; non-verbal communication such as body language, classroom climate and environment; pedagogical skill; pedagogical content and cognition; and teaching context.

How Teachers Talk (write): Perspective (wide or narrow), point of view (simple or multiple), relevance (content relevant, cognition relevant, context relevant or irrelevant), involvement (active or inactive, i.e., talk about facts, impressions, or reasoning and interpretation), framing (applying a frame to the context or framing a problem in a context).

Thus, we characterized expert practical thinking styles as active, sensitive, and deliberative involvement in a situation, using multiple points of view and a wide perspective. Expert practical thinking is also content

relevant, cognitive relevant, and context relevant, utilizing a problem framing approach to construct and reconstruct their thoughts on teaching. We assumed that expert teachers would exhibit more sophisticated, more deliberative, and better practical thinking styles than novice teachers.

### Characteristics of Experts' Practical Thinking Styles

Some results of our research identify five major findings.

1. Expert teachers excel mainly in "impromptu thinking," that is, thinking during teaching rather than thinking after teaching.

An important difference between expert teachers and novice teachers appeared in the thinking-aloud task (in observing the lesson, on-line monitoring system) rather than in the report writing task (after observing the lesson, off-line monitoring system). Much more impromptu thought was exhibited by experts than by novices.

The number of idea units (mainly, sentences) in the five experts' thinking-aloud task were about twice that of the five novices (Thinking aloud—84.4:34.6; Report—33.8:24.2). Comparing the number of the experts' words in the thinking-aloud task with that of the novices, the experts' words were nearly seven times that of the novices (Thinking aloud—1039:151; Report—463:390). What is more, the experts covered a wide range of content with elaboration, while the novices covered a narrow range of content with little elaboration. The difference is crucial. Experts could evaluate a lesson more quickly than novices. The novices primarily reflected on the lesson after it was finished.

Based upon these results, we can conclude that the professional wisdom of expert teachers appeared mainly as "impromptu thinking" in teaching.

2. Expert teachers use multiple viewpoints and interactive perspectives to think during teaching.

We divided the experts' and the novices' protocol idea units into two categories, talk about teaching and talk about learning (see Table 1). All five experts talked about teaching as much as they did about learning. The mean proportion of talk about teaching per total idea units was about 50% and the SD (standard deviation) was very small (4.1). But the novice teachers were different. Some novices talked mostly about teaching and other novices talked mostly about learning. Therefore, the SD of the novices was large (22.7).

These results mean that the experts monitored teaching from at least two points of view, while the novices used only one point of view, either the teacher's or the students'. In addition, the findings suggest that the

Table 1  
*Percentage of Talk About Teaching and Learning*

	Teaching (%)	Learning (%)
<i>Expert 1</i>	44.4	55.6
<i>Expert 2</i>	45.3	54.7
<i>Expert 3</i>	51.0	49.0
<i>Expert 4</i>	54.8	45.2
<i>Expert 5</i>	52.9	47.1
<i>SD</i>	4.1	
<i>Novice 1</i>	78.4	22.6
<i>Novice 2</i>	44.0	56.0
<i>Novice 3</i>	12.5	87.5
<i>Novice 4</i>	22.7	77.3
<i>Novice 5</i>	30.8	69.2
<i>SD</i>	22.7	

experts could consider both teaching relevant to learning and learning relevant to teaching, while the novices thought either teaching irrelevant to learning or learning irrelevant to teaching. We concluded that the experts are better at grasping the complex structure of teaching and, of course, make better teaching decisions based on their multiple points of view.

3. Expert teachers are actively, sensitively, and deliberatively involved in a situation, able to probe the cues of problem situations or problem-solving, and to detect possible ways of improved teaching.

In order to study expert and novice involvement in students' learning, the idea units regarding student learning were classified into three categories: (a) talk about "fact," (b) talk about "impression," and (c) talk about "reasoning" or "interpretation." Talk about "fact" involved repetition of child's talk or mere description of child's behavior. Talk about "impression" contained simple comments like, "His talk is wonderful," or "A puzzled expression crossed his face." Talk about "reasoning" was more active interpretative thinking, for example, "I guess he wishes to give another opinion," or "Her talk is excellent because she captures the essence of this phrase."

As shown in Table 2, the proportion of "reasoning" idea units per total idea units of the experts was very different from that of the novices. The experts' percentage of "reasoning" idea units was 45.3%, while the

Table 2  
*Percentage of Talk About Learning*

	Reasoning	Impression	Fact
Experts	45.3%	45.2%	9.5%
Novices	5.7%	61.9%	32.4%

novices' was only 5.7%. In contrast, the experts' percentage of "fact" idea units was 9.5%, while the novices' was 32.4%. This means that expert teachers can be involved in student learning actively and thoughtfully, and that novice teachers are passively involved only in readily apparent behaviors of children.

Next, in order to study how the experts and the novices monitored the teacher's activity in the videotaped lesson we classified the idea units regarding teaching activities into four categories: (a) talk about "fact," (b) talk about "interpretation" of the intention or meaning of the teacher's act, (c) talk about "prediction," and (d) talk about "better teaching." Examples of each category are as follows:

"Fact"—The teacher repeats the student's comment. "The teacher is asking the students for their first impression of the poem."

"Interpretation"—"Now, the teacher relates this student's comment with the previous comment." "This teaching activity is excellent because it facilitates children's interests in the poem."

"Prediction"—"This questioning will be very effective later." "I suppose this lesson will progress comfortably."

"Better teaching"—"This teacher should explain the issue more concretely." "If I were the teacher, I would speak more politely in this situation."

In Table 3, you can see several notable differences between the experts and the novices in each category. The mean proportions of the three categories, "interpretation," "prediction," and "better teaching" of the experts were far higher than those of the novices. On the contrary, the mean proportion of the talk about "fact" of the novices was 92.7%, while that of the experts was 30.3% Novices mostly talked about obviously visible teacher behaviors.

The results suggest that the experts monitored teaching as active and thoughtful practitioners, as if they were teaching in the classroom. They utilized multiple perspectives, namely their own perspective, the teacher's perspective, and the learner's perspective, to search for the problem of the lesson and to discover possible approaches for better

Table 3

Percentage of Talk About Teaching

	<i>Prediction</i>	<i>Better Teaching</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>	<i>Fact</i>
<i>Experts</i>	10.4%	39.0%	20.2%	30.3%
<i>Novices</i>	0 %	2.7%	4.6%	92.7%

teaching. In short, expert teachers grasp the aspects of a lesson as an active problem-solver and as a creative decision-maker.

4. Expert teachers' thinking is content specific, cognition specific, and context specific.

How much of experts' thinking is content specific, cognition specific, and context specific? In order to study teachers' content relevant and cognition relevant thinking, we divided the idea unit into two categories, "content or cognition relevant and irrelevant." The category of "content relevant" or "cognition relevant" includes the talk relevant to the text content or to the students' cognition, while the category of "irrelevant" involves the talk irrelevant both to content and to cognition.

Next, we divided idea units into "context relevant and irrelevant" categories. Here, we used the word "context" comprehensively. If an idea unit refers to the context of the teacher's or students' thinking processes, if it refers to social context of the teacher's or students' activities, or if it refers to the contextual structure of the text, we regard it as "context relevant" talk.

We found important differences between the experts and the novices both in "content or cognition relevant" thinking and in "context relevant" thinking. The experts' "content or cognition relevant" talk was 37.3% of their total talk, while that of the novices was only 1.4%. Some examples of the experts thinking are: "I think this girl thinks clearly in her interpretation of the text content," or "This boy offers an opinion opposed to the girl's previous opinion." They could concretely appreciate and interpret the facts of the teaching.

Concerning "context relevant" thinking, the mean proportion of the experts' context-relevant idea was 54.1%, while that of the novices' was only 12.1%.

We can conclude that expert teachers are able to correlate the various teaching or learning activities with each other in a specific context. In particular, they can focus on the relevance of student talk to specific content and to specific cognition. Experts can teach based upon contextualized thinking, while the novices teach regardless of specific content,

cognition, and context. We think this is the reason why experts can respond quickly and intuitively to events and creatively improve their teaching. This is also the reason why novices cannot be flexible in their teaching and unfortunately tend to be eager for the trivial skills.

5. Expert teachers think about teaching to frame a problem, constructing and reconstructing their thoughts to conform with the teaching process and context.

We compared the experts' problem framing in on-line and off-line monitoring with that of the novices. To study this issue, we identified the key concepts identified by each teacher from the thinking-aloud protocol and the written reports, and then we tried to detect the implicit relationship within the concepts and to describe it as an explicit structure map.

According to our research, the experts monitored and detected meaningful facts based upon their contextualized thinking, and then gradually correlated them to each other to construct and reconstruct a core aspect of the teaching. The experts could frame their thoughts to conform with a specific teaching. They were creative thinkers about teaching. On the contrary, the novices rarely identified key concepts. Even if they found some concepts, the concepts remained isolated from each other. They could hardly frame a problem for teaching, though they could apply a prescribed framework to teaching. The results hint that novice teachers tend to be captured by some stable doctrines without being empowered by their practical thinking style.

### Conclusion: Implications for Rethinking Teacher Education in Japan

It has been asserted that in Japan, teachers should cover broad fields of theoretical knowledge offered by university researchers and a large number of specific skills and general attitudes taught in lecture courses at teacher training centers of the school boards. In this system, the main place for teachers' growth is outside their classrooms. Their growth is largely in technical expertise—in other words, development of their competence to apply prescribed theories or techniques into their practice. This "teacher as technician" model is still dominant in Japanese teacher inservice education.

It has also been claimed by many teachers, however, that the theoretical knowledge and techniques taught at universities or at teacher training centers are not useful for improving their own teaching. Many point out that the best way to improve their teaching is to reflect upon their own teaching and that the most effective advisers are their colleagues at

school. These teachers' voices hint that the central locus for developing each teachers' professional knowledge and wisdom ought to be her or his own classroom and that the functions of many inservice opportunities should be reorganized to form a structure of concentric circles centering upon each teacher's own teaching.

Many issues come into question: Why should the central locus for teachers' professional growth be in their classrooms; why can't theoretical knowledge and techniques be useful for novice teachers; what kinds of knowledge do teachers generate and use in their classrooms; how do teachers think when acting as professionals, and finally, how do expert teachers develop their professional wisdom and represent it? These issues have not been discussed directly by teacher educators and educational researchers.

As we mentioned above, expert teachers form and utilize excellent practical thinking styles in their profession. These practical thinking styles are generated in actual teaching and are different from the theoretical thinking with which researchers are familiar.

From the results of our empirical research, we can abstract from the expert teachers' thought processes several characteristics of excellent practical thinking styles. In outline form, these are: (a) thinking in action (impromptu thinking); (b) utilizing multiple points of view and a wide perspective; (c) incorporating active, sensitive, and deliberative involvement in a situation (probing and detecting the cues of a problem); (d) including content relevant, cognition relevant, and context relevant thinking; and (e) focusing on problem framing strategies in context. We conclude that these five features should be the core elements of an excellent practical thinking style which will assure teachers of teaching expertise.

Based upon our conclusions, if we wish to make teachers more intellectual, more autonomous, and more creative, we should attach great importance to case methods rather than lecture methods in preservice and inservice teacher education. Expert teachers' practical knowledge and their thinking styles are Content specific, Context specific, and Cognition specific, as mentioned above. Teacher educators and researchers have ignored these three "C" specifics, pursuing the myth of a universal program for every teacher.

We believe that it is necessary to provide many opportunities for case studies in teaching in order to cultivate practical knowledge and practical thinking styles. Case methods developed in a deliberate way will enable teachers to combine reflection on their own teaching with many kinds of theoretical knowledge from diverse research fields. In other words, we should reconstruct teacher preservice and inservice curricula, not only

in the principle of "theory into practice," but also in the principle of "theory through practice," and we should advance case methods in teacher education as a collaborative research of teachers, educational researchers, and other professionals.

We believe that our aspiration for building a solid professional culture in Japanese schools ought not be an unfulfilled dream. If we are able to find a way to open teachers' narrow perspectives, if we are able to improve case methods to enrich teachers' knowledge, if we are able to cultivate more sophisticated thinking styles in teachers, and if we are able to prepare more clinical researchers who are capable of working with teachers, we shall be able to establish the concept of the "teacher as a professional" in a genuine sense.

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# Teaching and Learning in Japanese Elementary Schools: A Context for Understanding

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*Nancy Sato*

## Introduction

In order to foster a deeper, more authentic understanding of U.S.-Japan comparisons of teacher education, the classroom, school, community, and societal contexts of U.S. and Japanese schooling must be explored. This article begins to establish a common base of understanding by offering a few observations regarding Japanese elementary school practices. The evidence is derived from a 2-year ethnographic study that chronicled the daily lives of students and teachers from 1987 to 1989 (N. Sato, 1991). The major goal of the study was a systematic examination and sensitive portrayal of classroom practices in Japan in order to elucidate educational processes which promote equity in classroom learning. The teacher work situation and classroom culture, rather than equity issues, will be examined in this article in order to set the stage for increasingly meaningful and fruitful information sharing between countries. Future research may be strengthened as conceptual and contextual clarity are enhanced.

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### The Problem

Many cross-cultural comparisons discuss similarly labeled categories as though they were truly comparable, that is to say, they assume the same labels actually contain the same meaning. Yet, these categories and terms are often imbued with multiple nuances of meaning that could result in quite different realities. Even the "simplest," supposedly clear terms need examination.

Take, for instance, the word "teacher"—an unmistakable and most fundamental term in any discussion or cross-cultural comparisons regarding schooling. Is "teacher" a person who is paid a certain number of hours to perform a job? Or is "teacher" a role people play in facilitating others to acquire knowledge and skills? Or is "teacher" a communal set of obligations and expectations incurred as a result of assuming a role or job? The connotation is quite different when one culture (such as Japan) assumes that teaching is a 24 hours a day, 12 months a year job, so teachers who take on extra work (even on their "own" time) may be fired. And the meaning of the term changes upon realizing that Japanese teachers' responsibilities extend outside school walls; these responsibilities include the following requirements: Home visits to all students are required, all teachers must teach swimming during 3 weeks of their 6-week summer vacation, teachers assign homework and monitor student lives during vacations, and teachers must apologize to store owners in person if students are caught stealing.

Consequently, a "teacher" is a category that feels and acts quite differently in Japan than in the U.S., where teachers often must be paid if they do any formal work outside class hours, where home visits are rare, where teachers and students share no mutual responsibilities during vacations, where swimming is not a part of the required curriculum, and where apologies to store owners are not usually considered, even for the perpetrator.

Similarly, when considering "professional development activities," presumably comparable aspects such as "workshops," "course work," or "networking" assume significant differences in dimensions given contrasting work contexts and expectations. For example, improving collaboration and shared decision making is currently popular in the U.S. where teaching is characterized by isolation and independence. In Japan, however, where constant communication and shared decision-making is such an ongoing part of the school landscape, collaboration is inescapable even though teachers may want more isolation and independence. Similarly, the typical 2-week (at most 4-week) internship for preservice training, which seems frightfully short to any U.S. teacher

educator, is understandable once one realizes that the strong mentoring, mutual assistance, and teacher interdependence within schools are an integral part of the teaching job in any Japanese school. As a result, "learning on the job" becomes a more powerful, ongoing, and built-in professional development mechanism for both novice and veteran teachers in Japan.

This article begins with an overview of the rationale and methodology of my study, along with a few observations about Japanese society and culture vital to understanding education and school practices. The main part of the article then highlights descriptions of actual school and classroom settings to set a rich context for U.S.-Japan educational discourse. Specifically, the teachers' work situation and their roles and responsibilities will be explored, followed by a summary of classroom life from the students' perspectives to provide a colorful backdrop for understanding the teaching context in Japan.

### Rationale and Methodology for This Study

Paralleling Japan's dramatic rise as an economic power has been an equally dramatic rise in interest in explaining the reasons behind Japan's success. Amongst its accomplishments, the educational system is praised not only for the quality of its product, but for the equality in result as well (Duke, 1986; Kirst, 1981; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992; Torrance, 1980; Vogel, 1979; White, 1987). However, no one has adequately analyzed the most important aspect of education in Japanese schools, namely, the teaching-learning process. This intricate process unfolds in the daily interactions between teachers and students over the course of a year, not during a brief 45-minute or even 3-week visit to classrooms which most researchers undertake. To truly understand Japanese education and schooling, a long-term view of the same setting is necessary to capture the complexities of growth and to include the participants' perspectives.

One essential yardstick of equity is maximizing student access to, participation in, and successful completion of learning activities. Regardless of national policy, legislation, and mandated curriculum, assessing the actual degree of equity must occur on an individual basis: at the level of student-teacher interactions. Hence, this 2-year study employed ethnographic research methods to investigate several Japanese elementary public schools.

The research centered on an intensive, 10-month, daily observation period in fifth-sixth grade classrooms in two Tokyo schools with highly contrasting socioeconomic backgrounds (an upper class, *yamanote* school

and a lower class, *shitamachi* school). The same two classrooms (one in each school) were observed in all activities and subject matters, including special events, ceremonies, and field trips: Monday through Saturday, 8:00 A.M. until the students went home every day. Data collection primarily consisted of: narratives from observations, questionnaires, interviews, document analysis, artifact collection, video and audio cassette tapes, home visits, and visits to outside school educational and recreational activities of targeted students. A similar research strategy was employed in Nagano (one rural and one isolated mountain school) and in Osaka (two minority schools), but the time period was shortened: 4 weeks of daily observations.

Why this methodology? Four areas prompted selection of ethnographic methodology as best suited to the research needs: (a) the research literature, (b) the quality and kind of available data, (c) important aspects of Japanese teaching-learning processes, and (d) elements of Japanese cultural style.

When planning the study, four weaknesses were apparent in the research on Japanese education published in English: (a) few studies provided rich, detailed descriptions of classroom life; (b) even fewer were based on systematic, long-term observation of Japanese classrooms; (c) statistics were reported apart from their cultural context and without serious attention to comparability of statistics; and (d) authors tended not to be well-grounded in both Japanese studies and in U.S. educational research and practice.

Only three studies are based on long-term, ethnographic observations of Japanese classrooms (Cummings, 1980; Rohlen, 1983; Singleton, 1967), and only one of these focuses on Japanese elementary schools (Cummings, 1980). Americans are most familiar with the characterization of Japanese schools as intensely competitive with emphasis on rote and mechanized learning due to the examination system. Ironically, authors who have visited Japanese elementary schools are struck by an opposite impression: Their reports praise the more cooperative, nurturing, and creative learning environments (Cummings, 1980; Enloe & Lewin, 1987; Lewis, 1984; Torrance, 1980; White, 1987). Thus, studying the elementary level provides a provocative contrast that raises interesting new questions.

The lack of a meaningful cultural context for understanding the reported statistics is problematic because simply lengthening the school year will not be fruitful if teaching methods and the quality of educational experiences offered are not effective. Clarifying appropriate measures for educational success and how they are achieved is necessary to intelligently inform Americans about the practicality of our own re-

forms. Also, educational costs and trade-offs must be examined to balance our perspectives. Teaching styles, student work arrangements, learning tasks, philosophies, and knowledge are embedded in a cultural context, not easily translated into statistical frequencies.

Yet, in popular discourse about the Japanese school system, statistics stand out (e.g., high literacy rate, high test scores, and low dropout rates). And as for the reasons the Japanese are so successful in attaining these numbers, further numbers are given: hours of homework per night, length of school year, and amount of GNP spent on education. Meanwhile, based on the same kind of numbers, U.S. schools are being discredited for their mediocrity, and yet many stellar programs and instances of admirable classroom practices exist.

Numbers only tell part of the story, a superficial one at best, especially when examined apart from the cultural context which breeds these numbers. Two problems exist with this kind and quality of data: One is its potentially misleading nature, and another is that attention becomes focused on possibly less important features of school and classroom life. Statistics are especially misleading because they generalize across populations, not allowing appreciation of the true diversity underlying the aggregation of such numbers. Regarding Japan, the most prominent examples are their high school graduation rates, high test scores, and length of the school year.

For example, the structure of the job market and business practices may influence high school graduation rates more than educational policies or in-school practices. High school and college diplomas take on greater meaning in Japan where placement, promotion, and income are often strictly tied to educational attainment level and prestige of one's university. Japanese do not have the same freedom to change jobs or companies in search of better salaries or greater job satisfaction. Tighter links between certain universities, businesses, and government agencies set up more predictable college-career paths, so that graduating from a prestigious college guarantees privileges in Japan not as clearly found in the U.S. setting. Also, not graduating from high school or college greatly limits job opportunities and eventual promotion and salary levels more severely than in the U.S. Investigating the small percentage of non-graduates may reveal significant inequities within Japanese society.

Success in test scores may reflect college admissions policies and a high incidence of test-taking practice done outside school rather than within classroom time. Since entrance to prestigious high schools and colleges relies almost solely on one entrance examination score, "taking tests" assumes a much different meaning for Japanese students: For some, one test can determine their entire future. The intensive pres-

sures to enter the "right" middle school that leads to the "right" high school and into the "right" college forces some students to attend cram schools (*juku*) after school. These private institutions have blossomed into a "second school system" in Japan, a multi-billion dollar industry. But not all students are involved in this competition, and their conditions and voices deserve to be heard. Even though only 29.6% of sixth graders attended *juku* in 1985 (U.S. Department of Education, 1987), many 13-year-old Japanese students have had much more test-taking practice, which may account for international test score differentials.

Lastly, the Japanese school year (240 days) is 60 days longer than the U.S. school year (180 days), but contrary to conventional reasoning, the extra time is spent in more nonacademic subject matter studies and activities. In the observed schools, the difference in hours translates into much more art, music, physical education, social activities, field trips, special events, and ceremony hours than extra hours spent in math and reading. In fact, once one adjusts for all the half-days (many spent in extracurricular activities and events), the academic days<sup>1</sup> are a full-time equivalent of 195 days for Japanese students (U.S. Department of Education, 1987). The noteworthy difference, therefore, is that 45 of the 60 days are spent in activities considered less important in the United States. In an interesting twist, perhaps academic achievement in Japan is accomplished by focusing more on nonacademic studies and activities.

Most significantly, these numbers mask the captivating aspects of what is happening educationally in classrooms. At one school with elite college-bound students, when the teacher wanted to sing, lifeless voices went through the motions, blank faces uttered the words, yet these students were above grade level in math and writing, and test-taking was an almost daily occurrence. Across the city, in a school with few college-bound students and with a teacher who loved music, voluminous, rich voices filled the air in two or three part harmony, and the faces exhibited the feeling and effort which the songs invoked. Many of these students were below grade level in math and writing, and this teacher gave tests at most once a week. Yet their moving renditions of *haiku* (a form of Japanese poetry) revealed these students had found a voice, not only an individual voice in reciting poetry, but also a community voice in their choral masterpieces. When asked if she liked singing so often, one student replied, "Oh yes, it calms my heart so that I can concentrate better."

Numbers cannot capture the essence of these educational differences.

<sup>1</sup>The academic days include the required subject matter study hours in art, music, and physical education.

In fact, while the initial impression may be similarity, the long-term, studied impression of Japanese elementary schools is: *variety*. Variety refers to diversity between classrooms and schools as well as diversity in the course of each school day for individual students. Sole reliance on numbers and statistics as a means to understand an educational system obscures our view of many significant educational moments. Some of the most engaging and noteworthy aspects of Japanese elementary schools could only be discovered through firsthand experience.

Particularly in Japan, actual classroom life must be documented by long-term, on-site observation for several reasons. First, the so-called "standardized," nationally mandated curriculum is far from uniform. While it provides a common framework and meeting ground for educational discourse across the nation, one thing is clear: Teachers serve as creative intermediaries of the standardized curriculum. Although the Ministry of Education prescribes subject matter hours and textbook content, teachers can sculpt the curriculum to construct quite different experiences in classrooms sitting side by side.

They may not delete items, but pages may be covered superficially so they can add activities that they deem more appropriate, more compelling, or more interesting. For example, although his students were below grade level in reading, Mr. Okimoto supplemented the social studies textbook material with history materials usually covered in high school. He often finished lessons early in order to study poetry or sing. Even though many of his students may start blue collar jobs without graduating from high school, the value of his skillfully crafted curriculum was demonstrated in diverse ways: in the sense of fellowship and community among his students; in the powerfully moving poetry recitations; in the students' beaming faces when they successfully completed the most difficult, cooperative gymnastics stunts; and in the tears evoked by the students' beautiful, three-part rendition of the Hallelujah Chorus on graduation day.

In some schools, same grade level teachers share ideas, but implement the curriculum according to personal preference. In other schools, same grade level teachers implement the exact same curriculum together, striving to maintain the same pace. Some teachers may follow the Ministry of Education's scripted guidelines for teaching each line in a textbook, while others may diverge considerably from the script. The actual classroom experiences must be investigated in order to assess Japanese schooling and its real impact.

Similarly, the weekly schedule posted in every classroom in Japan reflects requirements more than reality. A "typical" day in a classroom is that which is atypical. Any classroom teacher knows that much time is

spent accommodating interruptions and detours from the regularly posted schedule. The only way I could keep track of the real schedule was to attend classes all day every day. Math is reduced to 15 minutes in order to be able to finish the group art projects for the art festival or to discuss interpersonal relations. Blocks of morning or afternoon classes are eliminated to incorporate the summer swimming schedule, health exams, or field trip preparation. Therefore, the true number of hours spent in the "standardized" curriculum must be counted by the minute.

How does one quantify the ongoing sensitivity to emotions and caring as pedagogical tools that facilitate teaching-learning processes? Teachers play with the interaction between multiple ways of caring, both strict and nurturing, harsh and soft, evoking laughter and tears, calm and anger, in their efforts to push students to be their best.

On-site observation is also required in classrooms where role modeling and direct experience are as crucial as the printed and spoken word in transmitting instructions. A cultural value in Japan is to recognize another person's feelings, to anticipate what needs to be done, and to do it without having to be told. If one waits to be told, one has been errant, insensitive, and impolite. This value creates different forms of educational processes working within classrooms, often making them more efficient and smooth processes. Transitions from one activity to another may be facilitated by a glance, a twitch, or a nudge. A teacher may just point or posture himself near some materials, and students ready themselves for action. Or a teacher picks some paper off the floor, and soon everyone is checking the floor around their desks.

Thus, besides the research literature, a more compelling argument for this kind of methodology stems from key elements of Japanese cultural style: subtlety, simplicity, and indirection (Befu, 1971). Harumi Befu (1971) defines this nicely when he states, "Suppression of verbalism, indirection, and emphasis on that which is hidden and can only be intuited are well exemplified in Zen Buddhism, which virtually denies to language the role of communication of information and logical reasoning." Long-term exposure to the same classrooms was also necessary to cultivate the senses to be able to detect some of these critical features of teaching and learning in Japanese classrooms.

Descriptions of teaching traditional arts and crafts in Japan reveal pedagogical beliefs evident in classrooms as well: "Learning is expected to take place as much through informal observation, intuitive understanding, and 'absorption' of the master's techniques as through formal, verbalized instruction" (Befu, 1971, p. 176; Singleton, 1989). In a context where role modeling, intuition, and "absorption" play powerful roles in teaching-learning processes, ethnographic methodology is essential to be able to document their impact on students and on classroom life. In

fact, one of my major findings was the value of these and other non-verbal pedagogical tools in effecting smooth and growthful teaching-learning processes in Japanese classrooms.

Last but not least, one distinguishing feature of Japanese culture is a strong separation made between public and private arenas. Clearcut distinctions determine what one may say and do in public as opposed to in private. The terms, *tatemae* (surface appearance) and *hone* (true feelings), *omote* (front) and *ura* (back), or *soto* (outside) and *uchi* (inside), reveal this demarcation (Azuma, 1986; Doi, 1991; Finkelstein, Imamura, & Tobin, 1991; Lebra, 1976; Nakane, 1970). In private and with one's peers, one's true feelings and opinions may be revealed; more independent and frank expression is more acceptable in informal and intimate contexts, highly regulated by the degree of trust. However, one's role and responsibility to one's identified group take precedence in the public arena, where one's expected behaviors and communications are much more prescribed and predictable. In public, the primary concerns are maintaining the expected order and promoting surface harmony, not establishing a unique self-identity as emphasized in the U.S. Thus, the more I could build trust with students, teachers, administrators, and parents, the more I could access increasingly candid, frank, and open viewpoints and behaviors.

## Understanding Japan: Precautions and Background

### *Precautions*

A comprehensive examination of many areas is not possible, so several precautions to the reader are warranted. First, the historical, political, and ideological underpinnings of contemporary practices will remain insufficiently covered.<sup>2</sup> Second, this article focuses on the positive aspects because my major finding was that of inspiration. To be able to attend elementary school classes daily for 10 months and never be bored, to gain strength and enthusiasm rather than be sapped of energy, is a testament to the fun and value of my educational experiences as a member of the school family in Japan. Needless to say, negative aspects and trade-offs exist that I will not fully explore in the scope of this article.

Third, none of the reported practices are unique to Japan. Many

<sup>2</sup>For historical information the reader is referred to the works of Tadahiko Inagaki, Edward Beauchamp, Ronald Dore, Herbert Passin, Edwin Reischauer, Richard Rubinger, and Nobuo Shimahara, along with the numerous publications from the Ministry of Education. Political and ideological issues are covered in works by Ikuo Amano, William Cummings, Hidenori Fujita, Teruhisa Horio, Thomas Rohlen, and James Shields.

teachers and classrooms in the U.S. exhibit some of the same traits and processes. In fact, I believe that teachers we admire in both cultures probably share more in common with each other than they do with teachers we do not admire in either country. Regarding the reported findings, the main difference is in the frequency of occurrence in Japan and in the complementary nature of many facets working together in a more coherent, integrated fashion.

Fourth, although Japan and Japanese elementary schools are often discussed as a generalized unit, the actual diversity in practice must be acknowledged. I observed a few schools in-depth rather than a large sample superficially.

And finally, dichotomous or polarized thinking should be avoided; for example, Japan is homogenous whereas U.S. is heterogeneous, or Japanese are group-oriented while Americans are individualistic. Dichotomies are simple analytical tools that may be based on kernels of truth, but in fact the true reality exists in complex, multifaceted gradations between the polar ends. For example, depending on the situation, Japanese and Americans may be group-oriented or individualistic. Japanese often appear "group-oriented" because most investigations and media exposure center on the public domain.

"Either-or" posturing is often not the meaningful choice. Rather in the interaction between two seemingly opposing ends, effective practices and choices emerge. For instance, in order to create the cohesive group work in elementary classrooms, Japanese teachers often revealed a finely tuned awareness of students as individuals, sensitive to their strengths and weaknesses. Also, standardization at the national level would not work without the individualization and flexibility of implementation apparent at the local level.

Similarly, homogeneity and heterogeneity exist both in the U.S. and in Japan, depending on what standards are applied to judge the degree of heterogeneity or homogeneity. Some areas of Japan are more heterogeneous than some areas of the United States. On the other hand, using race as a yardstick may define the U.S. as a more heterogeneous society on the whole, but race is a yardstick born out of the U.S. experience. Within Japan, other yardsticks exist that divide Japanese, resulting in discriminatory measures rivalling racial experiences in the U.S. They do not see themselves as "homogeneous" within their own context, and in many ways, they have even more status hierarchies and criteria for discrimination than Americans do.

In the end, we would be much smarter about each other if we could savor the finer distinctions. Issues and ideas posed in black and white or polarized terms are seldom accurate because the choices are rarely that simple and separable. Instead, appreciating which situational determi-

nants and which standards are applied to warrant characterizations along the continuum between the polarized ends presents a more truthful picture rather than viewing two societies as polar opposites.

### *Background*

The historical basis for contemporary Japanese schooling is far more complex than reported here, but three particular developments may contribute to our understanding of the current educational context. The first is that the importance of literacy, widespread reading, and book learning has been prominent since the 19th century in Japan, comparable to what most Western nations had at that time. Second, Japan does not have a history of anti-intellectual sentiments, and does have strong, egalitarian sentiments that have promoted universal education since 1873. Third, post-World War II Japanese education was restructured and remodeled on the American system, making the schools coeducational and public and eliminating ultra-nationalistic, militaristic components from the curriculum.

Perhaps more fundamental to understanding the different look and feel of Japanese classrooms is understanding a different notion of self that underrides their ways of thinking, feeling, and acting. Harumi Befu's (1986) concept of personhood aptly describes the Japanese notion of individual self and helps to clarify some crucial philosophical differences. Personal identity contains three vital dimensions: interpersonalism, self-discipline, and role perfection.

Interpersonalism is characterized by particularism (a notion of self that changes depending on the situation, especially the people involved), mutuality of trust, and interdependence. Importantly, "it is the interconnectedness of persons and the quality of this interconnectedness that determines who one is. Connectedness is not merely a matter of knowing someone; it also expresses moral commitment to reciprocal support." (Befu, 1986, p. 23) Self-discipline must be molded through experience which involves "hardship (*kuro*), endurance (*gaman*, *nintai*, *shimbo*, *gambaru*), effort (*doryoku*), and the utmost self-exertion (*ishshokem-meい*) (Befu, 1986, p. 24) And finally, role perfection, or the commitment to do one's best regardless of the status of one's role, complements self-discipline in defining personal identity. Educational success is greatly facilitated by these dimensions of self.

Previous researchers have often mentioned the above self-discipline values as important determinants of Japanese success in education. However, in the face of repeated failure, disappointment, ongoing frustration, and irritation, what maintains the adherence to these values? An important counterpart and release mechanism to ensure smooth opera-

tions is reflected in the frequently repeated phrase, "*sho ga nai*."<sup>3</sup> In other words, when one has done one's best with disappointing results, or when one is forced to do something against one's will, "*sho ga nai*," and one must still try one's best. Depending on the situation, in English one might say, "don't cry over spilt milk," or "there's nothing I can do about it," but no direct translation exists. The psychological mechanism at work is an accommodation that enables one to move forward. Most telling is that "*sho ga nai*" reflects a cultural belief that many circumstances are beyond one's personal control. Unlike Americans who strive to secure as much control over life's circumstances as possible, Japanese are more likely to endure inconveniences, especially yielding to certain organizational structures, processes, and systems set up for the good of the group, thus beyond individual personal rights.

The sanctity of individual rights that serves to separate one from others in the U.S. simply does not predominate in Japan because one's relations with others are so fundamental to one's self-identity. One implication of an American notion of self as independent of others, compared with a Japanese notion of self as dependent on others, is an overriding concern with relations in Japanese classrooms. As a result, blurred boundaries between self and others characterize many teaching-learning processes in Japan.

Rather than knowledge transmission, the ultimate goal of schooling is to develop *ningen* (human beings). Interestingly, the Japanese ideographs (*kanji*) used to write the word "*ningen*" mean "amidst people." And to be a decent human being, one must develop one's *kokoro* (heart, center of physical, mental, social, and emotional being). *Kokoro* is an interesting concept because it is at once an individual self-concept (developing personal capacities) and a social self-concept (developing empathy, the capacity to relate to others).

As a result, whole person education is readily apparent in Japanese schools. Cognitive, affective, and social spheres are not isolated into separate categories as distinctly as they are in Western thought. Likewise, cognitive development does not predominate school priorities: Cultivating all one's sensibilities is basic. Elementary students are engaged with a variety of subject matter studies,<sup>4</sup> requiring a wide array of

<sup>3</sup>I am grateful to Hiroshi Azuma for his first explanation of the psychological adaptation mechanism represented by "*sho ga nai*." Members of a seminar organized by Professor Tadahiko Inagaki in Tokyo (1990) and a Stanford University School of Education seminar taught by Professor Thomas Rohlen (Winter quarter, 1991) also contributed insights to this discussion. Analysis of the expression is still in progress, and any faulty interpretation is my own responsibility.

<sup>4</sup>Nine subject matters are required in fifth-sixth grades: art, home economics, Japanese, math, moral education, music, physical education, science, and social studies.

activities and materials, set in diverse environments, and rich in direct experiences.

Though the basic skills rhetoric popular in the U.S. is echoed in Japan, the crucial difference lies in the conception of what is "basic." In Japan, "basic skills" include much more than reading, writing, and arithmetic; they also encompass an inviting variety of art, music, physical education, social, and moral skills. And, as opposed to the "3 Rs," what struck me most about Japanese schools was an emphasis on the "4 Cs": community, connectedness, commitment, and caring.

Community exists at many levels in Japan. At a national level, education is much broader than the school system, unlike the U.S. where attention revolves around schools. Education is a more cohesive system, integrating many facets of society and its institutions, and forming a more articulated and mutually reinforcing network, including business, media, community organizations, and family. Exploring these levels is like peeling back layers of an onion. The outer layer of "community" reflects the cultural, institutional, and societal context as it coordinates and works with schools to complement educational processes and values. The next layer is the school system, its overall policies and structure. Peeling further, the school system forms an interlocking body of nested communities: from national to province, district, neighborhood, and individual school levels.

Just as schools as institutions are nested within tightly knit communities, the school itself is a community of learners. "Community" is not merely a product of people coming together, rather as a process of mutual obligations and trust building, community is persistently, carefully, painstakingly, and sometimes painfully worked on every day, from the first day of first grade. From an individual student's viewpoint, daily life comprises a journey within carefully nested groups: from their desk partner, to small working groups within classrooms, to grade level identification, to older-younger student mentor relations, whole school identification, and into the family and community organizations. These nested communities work together to create secure places of belonging for individual students, critical for building self-identity and community identity. Importantly, when one "community" may break down for a given individual, other communities are still around to provide support.

Special events and ceremonies reinforce these nested levels of identity. The whole school sports day is a splendid example. All students participate in individual races and small group competitive events that require cooperation within teams in order to compete with other teams. Each grade level also combines to perform a cooperative event, such as dance or group formations. And the whole school is divided into two teams, red and white, that must cooperate together in order to vie in

creatively composed, friendly competition. Most events combine music, art, clever athletic feats, and relays, so much time is spent laughing as well as competing. For example, students in one relay competition built a festival float (each student ran up and added another piece), so that by the end of the relay each team had a beautifully decorated float (*mikoshi*), and the whole school could join in the parade around the playground.

In another example, staff were divided into red and white team relays. The principal and vice principal stood at one end of the field and teachers, in turn, ran up to put a piece of the costume on their "models." As the relay progressed, the fairy tale characters the administrators represented came to life and once fully outfitted, they all paraded around the playground. Staff and parents participate in many activities and events alongside students, both as a means to bolster home-community-school connections and to serve as role models. These opportunities for students to laugh with and to cheer for the adults engender bonds and memories that last a lifetime.

Continuity between layers is encouraged in several other ways. Besides broad teacher and school responsibilities, parents and the community share many obligations for their children's education: financial, time, and energy commitments. One school utilized class time to plan study, play, and neighborhood clean-up activities for the summer break, yet parents were responsible for overseeing the activities. Parent-teacher meetings and class time are also utilized to plan safety patrols, led by elected students with parents involved. Educational activities are sponsored during vacation breaks by the neighborhood-based children's organizations (*kodomokai*), run by parents. Traditional customs and festivals are also maintained through these neighborhood organizations and are reinforced at school.

Therefore, connectedness, in terms of the quality of relations and in terms of the strength of bonds established through the teaching-learning process, forms another central notion in Japanese schools. Relations are bonds that continue throughout one's lifetime. My thesis advisor still attends his elementary school reunions, and my 103-year-old grand uncle (a former teacher and school principal) warmly told me about former students who still traveled miles to visit him. This connectedness also extends to many areas of life: between institutions, between learners and the learning activities, and between different aspects of self. Continuity over time and place depends on consistency.

Consistency in expectations and in organizational procedures buttresses community building by enabling people to develop an all-important sense of trust, sense of security, and sense of belonging, all of which

require commitment: commitment to do one's best, to do so with integrity, and commitment to other members in one's community. Commitment is demonstrated through utmost effort, diligence, persistence, enthusiasm, and self-sacrifice.

Finally, the cohesive element which binds the connectedness and commitment into meaningful communities is the caring underlying it all: caring enough to include one's neighbor despite animosity, caring enough to consider everyone's feelings and opinions despite additional time and self-sacrifice required, caring so much that words are no longer needed to communicate, as hearts, eyes, and bodies convey thoughts poignantly.

Ceremonies epitomize the 4 Cs. Much of elementary school life is built around ceremonies which mark beginnings and endings of relationships and which serve to provide moments for reflection and reminders of the salience of interpersonal relations in the teaching-learning process. Each school year begins with an entrance ceremony (*nyugaku shiki*) and ends with a graduation ceremony, the two most important ceremonies of the year. Before the graduation ceremony, a "giving thanks" ceremony is held for sixth graders, parents, teachers, and staff to honor each other and thank each other for all they have done to get them through this point. Reciprocity is paramount.

Each school week opens and closes with a whole school ceremony, the main point of contact between building administrators and students. Ceremonies symbolize community and connectedness between students and others. They also play an important role in diversifying the school calendar across a school year, yet standardizing the calendar in a way that every person in Japan has experienced these ceremonies wherever they live. A national identity is preserved, yet ceremonies are altered to reflect regional and community differences. Meanwhile, for students they provide a sense of belonging and a symbol of the seasons of growth in the personal life cycle. The commitment and caring which brings heartfelt meaning to ceremonies are an integral part of the classrooms I observed in Japan.

Keep the 4 Cs in mind while reading the information regarding teachers, because they operate in a finely tuned, complementary fashion to create the wonderful educational experiences shared by many students and teachers in Japanese elementary schools. Most importantly, much self-sacrifice is involved to honor the reciprocal obligations incurred between all members of the school community.

## Teacher Work Context

### *Organization and Structure*

At first glance, Japanese elementary schools are quite similar to U.S. schools: two or three-story large, concrete, square buildings built around a playground area. On the whole, Japanese schools are plainer and often have less attractive facilities than U.S. schools.<sup>5</sup> Classrooms are equipped with blackboards, bulletin boards, lockers, a television, and a desk and chair for each student which are usually, but not always placed in rows facing the teacher's desk in front. Many schools have a gardening area and live animals in cages on the school playground. Individual classrooms may also have aquariums or other live animals and plants.

The school is headed by a principal, vice principal, and then home room teachers assigned by grade level are responsible for teaching all subjects. Students are divided into individual classrooms, first through sixth grades, and assigned to one teacher per class (up to 45 students by law). Each school has at least one specialist teacher (usually for art, music, or home economics, but sometimes for science or social studies) who teaches that subject to all students in one or more grade levels. No other aides, substitutes, or volunteers were observed in classrooms or in schools. Consequently, individualized instruction between a teacher and individual students is very difficult, but "individualized instruction" between peers becomes that much more meaningful.

The school day is divided into six 45-minute periods, except Wednesday and Saturday, which have four periods. There is a 10-minute recess at 10:30 and a 20-minute recess at lunch, plus a time when all the students clean their classrooms, school corridors, and school grounds. Teachers eat lunch in class with their students and clean with them during cleaning time. Teachers are also responsible for teaching a weekly club activity and student council. All fourth through sixth graders participate in one club activity and one student council per semester, selected by student preference. Club activities are extracurricular activities that focus on one topic, for example, science, cooking, clay, painting, geography, or sports clubs (such as soccer, ping pong, basketball, and badminton). Student councils, led by student-elected sixth graders, are crucial means of delegating decision-making authority to students, who are responsible for planning, organizing, and maintaining different areas of school life: for example, the "school beautification" (cleaning)

<sup>5</sup>In part, this reflects the priorities for school expenditures: aimed directly at student materials and supplies rather than in attractive facilities, modern technology, or personnel salaries (no overtime pay, few substitutes, no paraprofessionals).

council, assembly council, student life council, and health and nutrition council.

Japanese teachers have different work arrangements than U.S. teachers, but these arrangements often mirror those faced by students, thus becoming an important means for role modeling and setting expectations for student performance. Like the individual classrooms, the teachers' room is crowded and noisy because of cramped work quarters. All teachers' work desks are grouped together by grade level in one large room. They only use their home room desks during classroom time, since collegial pressures work to bring teachers back to the teachers' room. This contrasts with the U.S. situation where teachers use their home room desks as their primary work space, and often the teachers' room is just a place to eat or to take a quick break.

Every morning, sitting in their desks, Japanese teachers consult freely about lesson plans, activities, students, and other administrative responsibilities. U.S. teachers, on the other hand, could teach a full year without consulting their neighboring teacher. By necessity, grade level teachers in Japan collaborate as a unit, and just as students are divided into cooperative work groups called *han*, teachers also are divided into mixed grade level groups for school administration purposes, such as finance, health and nutrition, student life, textbook selection, or various academic work groups. U.S. teachers have biweekly staff meetings, and less opportunity to participate in school administration duties.

In Japan, every day begins with a staff meeting, just as each classroom day begins with a student-led meeting. The meetings are led by daily monitors (*toban*), who also have other responsibilities for the day, and these duties rotate daily to all teachers and students, in their respective groupings. The staff meetings are the primary means to organize many whole school events and to communicate various needs, plans, problems, staff development opportunities, congratulations, and gratitude. At the same time, students in their classrooms are responsible for self-study (quizzes, drills, homework) and other monitor duties, such as taking attendance, collecting homework, planning activities, or preparing materials. In addition to their administrative duties, full classroom instruction schedule, student council, and club activities, teachers plan and run regularly scheduled whole school activities, events, and ceremonies. Other whole grade activities, such as overnight camping trips, also require constant coordination between teachers, both within and between grade levels.

In contrast to the isolation of teachers in U.S. schools, lively camaraderie and constant communication characterizes much of teachers' lives in Japan, but along with the assets gained in more support, mutual professional development, and an increased sense of community, comes un-

avoidable conflicts, forced compromise, and an extra expenditure of time and energy. Patience and tolerance are necessary traits in the teachers' room as well as in the classroom.

Japanese teachers have many fewer days off (only Sundays and at most 40 other days. For each work day, many get to work early (7:30 A.M.) and stay late (until 6:00 P.M., often until 10:00 P.M. at one minority school I observed), mainly grading papers, preparing lessons, and attending required meetings and consultations. Schools also field staff sports teams for friendly intraschool competitions in order to build school district camaraderie. Practices and games occurred after school.

Another structural feature of Japanese schools which necessitates constant communication is that all administrators and teachers are required to change schools every 3 to 6 years depending on the district. In the name of equity, good and bad teachers and administrators thus are "shared" among the schools. Organizationally, however, this means that each year several veteran staff leave and new members arrive. The new members will include a range of veteran teachers (those who have taught for many years) and novice teachers. On the positive side, this rotation ensures a constant invigoration of new ideas and fresh energy; however, on the other hand, loss of an inspirational teacher or principal may disrupt a cohesive working group and may dampen or even terminate exciting innovations.

Unlike the U.S. where teachers and students change classes each year, Japanese teachers and students usually stay together as a class for at least 2 years (a typical pattern is first-second, third-fourth, and then fifth-sixth grades).<sup>6</sup> One rationale for this practice is that developing the right relations between teachers and students takes time. As one teacher put it, "The first year you learn how to work together as a group and understand each other, and the second year, the real learning can begin." Or, as another principal stated, "The first year, you look and listen, the second year, you can act and do."

This reflects a fundamentally different conception of teaching and learning in Japan than in the U.S. Human relations are an essential part of the cognitive act and therefore much attention is focused on developing social cohesion. Teachers spend much time building relations before covering textbook material, especially in the beginning of a school year. They will play with students before and after school and during recesses if they feel group cohesion is weak. Moral education is a subject matter: The topics cover interpersonal relations, manners, and dealing with social interactions in a sensitive manner. A more holistic regard for

<sup>6</sup>Nagano students and teachers stayed together 3 years, and I heard of rare cases that changed every year or stayed together all 6 years.

individual students with respect to their own growth and learning is apparent: In order to study academic subjects, accompanying social and affective dimensions must be considered. Use of technology in classrooms is still minimal, reflecting spending priorities and a value that human interaction is foremost. In the entire observation period, an overhead projector was used once, no movies or slides, no computers (except in one experimental school), and just a few occasions of public educational television programs to supplement social studies and science in the elite school.

A process orientation is evident in other practices as well. One is the absence of standardized testing in public schools, either as an accountability mechanism (reflecting greater trust between people) or as a means to judge educational achievement.<sup>7</sup> Test scores are not deemed all-important in an environment where effort, quality of human relations, sensitivity to feelings, and diverse abilities are emphasized along with subject matter studies. However, they are important as a mechanism for assigning grades for report cards. In this case, tests cannot be standardized because teacher priorities vary; individualization is accounted for at this level.

The absence of such practices as retention and skipping grades also reflects the importance of all school activities as learning activities and a view of education as a long-term process. No one is perfect in all the required skills to warrant skipping a grade. Retention may hinder growth of a student who may learn the skills faster with the increased challenge in the next grade level and with the help of peers, again relations that develop over time. The practice of advancing grade levels with age level peers regardless of achievement levels reflects the priority placed on social relations and bonds developed over time with one's age cohort.

Separating and labeling students is avoided. Inequality in relations develops between students based on such labeling, and this would counteract the diligently constructed group solidarity. No "gifted" and no "at-risk" programs exist because their belief is that all students are "gifted" and no students are "at-risk." Moreover, once students are labeled, they are pigeon-holed and easily dismissed as a group rather than recognized in an individual fashion. Instead, teachers and administrators feel group togetherness and equality in relations which preserve each student's self-image and feelings of belonging are paramount. On the positive side, many students who might normally be tracked or

<sup>7</sup>Schools and teachers are not constrained by threats of law suits, since such actions could destroy the kind of trust essential for harmonious relations. Instead, reciprocity and trust based on honoring mutual obligations are valued.

retained do not fall further behind and catch up by the time they reach sixth grade. On the negative side, some students do fall far behind and receive insufficient or no specialized attention. These are the students least well-served in the Japanese system.

Frequent goal setting and reflection times (*hansei*) focus student and teacher attention on the quality of everyone's participation in educational activities: exhibiting sensitivity to feelings, motivation, dedication, and involvement. *Hansei* is useful for self and group evaluation, soliciting each individual participants' feedback, reestablishing goals, thus enabling ongoing growth and improvement. After major events or field trips, *hansei* occurs orally and in writing, and it involves students, teachers, and parents in their respective groups. Each day may begin and end with *hansei*, a time for students to comment on how they feel and to problem-solve together. During subject matter studies, small group work, or even cleaning time, *hansei* may be invoked as a form of collaborative assessment: teaching and learning as a group. In this way, reflection as assessment encourages growth in oneself and in helping others to grow, and it makes everyone accountable to oneself and to others. As an ongoing individual and group responsibility, *hansei* becomes a mechanism that enables independent learning and fosters initiative.

An essential aspect of *hansei* is reflecting on one's own behavior in relation to others and evaluating one's performance and contribution in a critical fashion. Such reflection and self-evaluation are difficult to nurture, but with so much practice, sixth graders can be quite articulate and adept at self and other assessment. Three cultural values facilitate the process: humility (admitting one's own weaknesses), consideration (praising others along with constructive criticism), and taking responsibility rather than affixing blame. High standards are expected of everyone, so no performance is completely satisfactory and room for continual improvement exists.

School goals reflect social relations and process priorities. The most frequent slogans in Japanese schools are *kokoro o hitotsu* (make our hearts one) and *naka yoku suru* (get along well with each other). When asked "who is a good student?," student and parent surveys listed their top three choices as: one who is kind and gentle, one who makes friends easily, and one who helps others.

Process orientation is also evident in the ways their egalitarian sentiments are expressed. The overriding criteria for equity in Japan is in the provision of educational materials and experiences, rather than the comparison of outcomes. Universal, mutual, and equal participation is a hallmark of their egalitarian sentiments. Practically speaking this means that there is no ability grouping (equal participation), no categorizing

students in ways that would make students feel different (mutual participation), and no denied participation regardless of achievement, behavior, or perceived ability (universal participation). All students participate in everything. No elaborate reward and punishment systems contingent on good behavior exist; rather intrinsic motivation is carefully nurtured daily, even from nursery school (Hendry, 1986; Lewis, 1984). Teachers were respectful to even the most disrespectful or obnoxious students.

Universal participation is all the more remarkable given the variety of activities, materials, and monitor duties. All students wear identical school hats and standard backpacks to school.<sup>8</sup> These backpacks are filled with books, supplies, and pencil boxes replete not only with an incredible assortment of pens and pencils, but also their favorite stickers and other playthings. Not surprisingly, every day some student forgets something. One of the biggest sins in elementary school is *wasuremono* (forgotten things). Given the incredible assortment of kits, materials, uniforms, and other supplies necessary to complete each day, I was impressed that so many did not forget anything. For example, every student has his or her own recorder for music class, gym uniforms, and kits for art, home economics, and calligraphy. Each kit contains innumerable pieces, and usually additional materials must be brought from home. All students receive the same textbooks for all subjects; the textbooks are lightweight, colorful, attractive, and informative.

All students experience a diversity in forms of learning and teaching. The rich and engaging curriculum, shared leadership roles, and varied grouping patterns contribute to a broader range of students having access to classroom learning. Students also have more access to multiple perspectives of their own and fellow students' strengths and weaknesses. Sense of self is strengthened since everyone receives recognition for success in something, even if it is not math or reading. I witnessed several instances of success in other endeavors that sparked improved attention and accomplishments in academic subjects.

Besides the engaging variety and attractiveness of the materials, the most significant element is that they belong to the students: The materials are either distributed free or for small fees, but all students own the same materials.<sup>9</sup> While U.S. students may be exposed to similar kinds of

<sup>8</sup>One explanation for practices that regulate appearance and standardize participation, such as uniforms in secondary schools and common materials, is to diminish status differentials between rich and poor students.

<sup>9</sup>Those students who cannot afford the fees or required materials may receive scholarship money from the government. No one is denied participation or materials for financial reasons.

materials, they usually belong to and remain at school, even the textbooks. The students' sense of responsibility for their education and the continuity made possible between home and school learning may be powerfully influenced by the difference in ownership. Japanese students protect the basic necessities for their own learning, and to do so they must organize, plan ahead, and attend to details—vital personal habits to develop in school.

Another way that these personal habits and community building are developed is through an intricate network of delegated responsibilities and duties to all students. Besides the daily cleaning activities, they help to run most of the events and ceremonies; they supervise and discipline each other; and they often establish rules and classroom procedures. Again, student ownership of school and classroom processes may profoundly influence a students' conception of "school" as a personal institution developed by and for themselves. Cleaning time builds community in several interesting ways. Besides improved whole school identity (school ownership), self-identity is enhanced through increased self-discipline and character building. Whether planned or not, an important off-shoot of this activity is improved classroom management patterns. Students know there is a place and form for everything. Materials and supplies do not get lost, and when cleaned every day, replacement of materials and organization of classrooms is done by everyone.

### *Responsibilities and Expectations*

Providing this range of experiences and responsibilities necessitates broader teacher roles and responsibilities in Japan than in the United States (Inagaki & Ito, 1991; Sato & McLaughlin, 1992). Outside school responsibilities for student growth and life styles are implicit teacher obligations. In turn, students are accountable to their teachers for a wide range of personal (including health, hygiene, and safety) and academic habits beyond school walls. For example, prior to each vacation, students list their daily activity plans (hour by hour)—for instance, times for waking, sleeping, studying, television viewing, reading, and playing. Teachers read each one and comment or revise schedules. Parents, students, and teachers then sign the document as a mutual pact. In another example, witnesses often report any misbehavior off school premises to the school. Teachers and principals take responsibility for contacting parents and together; they handle the affair with students. In cases of stealing, teachers, principals, and parents also must apologize in person to the store owners. This reveals the importance of school as the primary organization with which students identify.

Teacher-parent ties are established or renewed at the beginning of each year through home visits. In a 2-week time period, teachers visit the homes of each of their students (about six each afternoon). The meetings may be just 15 minutes, but the teacher can gain a sense of the neighboring community, the home environment, and the concerns of the parents. Throughout the year, various ceremonies, parent events (such as parent-student soccer games or performances), classroom visitation days (Sunday and week days), and PTA meetings provide other means for teachers to interact with parents. Many teachers spend extra hours composing detailed, creative, and informative newsletters to send to parents, as many as three times per week. These newsletters reveal the teacher's goals and personality, applaud student accomplishments, set expectations for parent involvement, and inform parents of current studies and impending events.

Lastly, professional development is a presumed part of teachers' job obligations. Inservice programs exist at the district level as well as at each school site and usually occur after school hours. Each school conducts monthly inservice activities on Wednesday afternoons. One standard form of inservice training consists of teachers observing another teacher for one class period during a regular school day. Then, in a teachers' meeting after school, the observed teacher distributes an explanation of the activity and reflects upon the lesson, including self-evaluation. Following the reflective activity, others contribute comments and questions as a springboard for discussing the curriculum in general. Videotapes may be used to review instructional activities or to provoke thoughtful dialogue.

Apart from school or district-related activities, teachers in Japan systematically and voluntarily engage in self-study or in research groups. Journal publications of research conducted by and for teachers outnumber those of university researchers in Japan: Of the total publications, about two-thirds are written by teachers (M. Sato, 1991a). If not actively involved in professional organizations, more adults and children in Japan diligently pursue hobbies than Americans do. Japan is a reading public with a higher regard for intellectual or educational pursuits. For example, some parents and teachers form reading clubs that meet monthly to discuss articles or books related to child development and education, or some teachers may participate in choral groups, or take lessons in oil painting, calligraphy, or a foreign language.

Beyond these generalized cultural features, teachers form voluntary study groups in which members review and critically evaluate each others' curriculum activities and ideas. These groups meet outside school time and are impressive. I regularly attended one group that met one Saturday a month from 2:00-10:00 P.M. The level of discourse regard-

ing painting techniques, choir conducting, poetry, voice projection, teaching hand springs, or social studies concepts was outstanding. Even more intriguing was the array of student drawings, cassette tapes of singing, and videotapes of classroom teaching that formed the basis of the study group meetings. Although these study groups are not commonplace, they are not unusual: 53% of 3,987 teachers surveyed in 1981 had been active in a voluntary group (M. Sato, 1991b, p. 2).

At the very least, sharing of ideas and activities occurs on a regular basis in the teachers' room. In the end, perhaps the most powerful professional development mechanism is built into teachers' daily lives: interdependent work groups and a single working space for ongoing interaction.

In sum, an elementary teacher's job is one of the busiest, energy-draining, and time-consuming jobs I can imagine. In order to provide students with a wide array of educational experiences and responsibilities, the teacher must not only plan but also participate in all activities as well. Standardization provides a consistency that helps parents, teachers, and students cope with the variety and enables mutual support, peer tutoring, and community building in important ways.

### Into the Classroom—Summary of Findings

#### *Understanding "Supervision" as Interpersonal Relations*

The most striking feature of Japanese elementary schools is the loud noise level. The second is that teachers do not seem to monitor it, and principals do not castigate teachers for it. At first, I was perplexed but fascinated by the lack of adult supervision and by the range of tolerated behaviors and boisterous noise levels, especially because the uncontrolled noise and behaviors were obviously not a sign of lack of control. Students are often left without adult supervision during the morning teachers' meeting, before and after school, and during recesses. Students travel to different parts of the building and perform many duties and studies in varying kinds of groups without adult supervision. Of course, teachers are on the premises and are responsible for their students, but they do not worry about directly supervising their students at all times.

No substitutes were hired when teachers were absent for professional development seminars or other district work.<sup>10</sup> Students were given

<sup>10</sup>Such absences are rare: I observed only three such instances in the entire observation period.

work, told what to do, and left on their own. Off-task behavior increased, but students managed themselves and completed tasks with or without teachers present. One time I observed a first grade teacher leave her class to finish lunch, prepare to go home, and dismiss themselves. They finished their day just as the teacher had instructed, except for the food one student plastered on his forehead. Two questions arise: Why are Japanese students left unsupervised so often, or alternatively, why do American students require so much supervision?

What I first interpreted as "unsupervised" behavior revealed an American bias that students need constant adult supervision. After further observation, I realized that students are always "supervised" whether or not adults are around because peer and self supervision form an integral part of authority and control mechanisms at work in Japanese schools. Tasks are accomplished with a mixture of adult, peer, and self supervision carefully orchestrated in subtle and sensitive ways. For example, adults do monitor the noise and behavior, they just do it in quiet ways and avoid verbal battles. And I observed first grade teachers deliberately leave the room for short moments to begin to build the expectations of self-management without adult supervision.

Paradoxically, teachers secure control by delegating, even relinquishing, control, primarily through the variety of interdependent groupings that form the basic unit of classroom participation. By assigning duties to groups, student engagement is maximized, and the groups comprise essential avenues for developing trusting relations. The ability to delegate authority and control rests fundamentally on individual trust: Teachers must establish these relations with each individual student and between students as a group.

The departure point for teaching and learning is also the means and ends of education: the caring relationship. The proper caring relationship can be critical and stern, as long as student concerns are foremost, with the mutual goal of maximizing efforts and encouraging persistence towards improvement. Since the proper relations constitute the essential vehicle for teaching-learning and for class management, textbook learning is secondary to relations-building.

Teachers will neglect academic work when the proper caring relations break down. In one tense class discussion, the two class bullies were brought to tears as the class meeting centered on the impact of their behaviors on others, and they had to reflect on their deeds. I marveled at the way other students rallied to the sides of crying classmates to comfort them in whatever way they could. I was moved by an incident where one boy burst into tears when other boys teased him during class, but after class several, who had teased him, patted him on the back in

the halls and offered him words of encouragement. When asked what the most rewarding aspect of teaching is, one teacher responded after much thought, "Isn't it when you have worked so hard together, for so long, for one goal, that once the goal is accomplished, you can all cry together?"

Teachers have numerous strategies for developing group solidarity: games, presentations, reflection, class meetings, and requiring students to come to a consensus about use of recess time or how to group themselves for a field trip. They also have individual and group ways of maintaining contact with individual students. In earlier grades, taking attendance is a time for individual students to report about their health or other personal matters. Older students write diaries to share with teachers who comment on each one and return them, sometimes daily, as a means to keep in touch with each student.

Having established the proper, caring relations between themselves and their students, teachers enjoy invisible authority, the most effective kind. Once they have prepared students and set expectations in a thorough and thoughtful manner, direct adult supervision is unnecessary as peer and self-supervision take control. Due to the built-in webs of obligations, responsibilities, norms, procedures, and expectations, students can manage themselves. Standardization contributes to "invisible authority" because standardized forms of behavior and procedures establish a consistency of expectations to allow peers to supervise themselves equitably.

Successful peer supervision depends in large part on self-supervision or self-discipline (*shitsuke*),<sup>11</sup> traits and manners primarily learned at home, but easily picked up at school as well. For instance, because everyone else neatly replaces items into proper place, picks up dropped items no matter whose they are, and straightens out areas for the public good, one feels obliged to do the same. I was surprised to find myself neatly attending to details I had not always considered in the U.S.—ever-aware of tidiness and order, carefully placing materials down, cleaning off any bit of dirt or drop of water, and folding my handkerchief squarely, matching the edges carefully, before returning it to its proper place (and I never even carry a handkerchief in the U.S., but everyone does in Japan). I felt I would attract attention by not doing these things,

<sup>11</sup>There is much more culturally specific meaning to this term than self-discipline, but I have not yet clarified the full extent of its meaning. I did ask various teachers and parents what this word meant and what influence it had on school life and school performance, but I received so many widely scattered answers (from "very important" to "no relation at all"), that I realized it merits much more detailed analysis and investigation than I could perform at the time. One next step is to delve into the significance of this term.

though nothing was ever said. When enough people are doing the same thing, words are not necessary to teach and learn. Absorbed traits and peer pressure are effective forms of authority and control.

One notable feature of elementary classrooms is that of "the movable desk." From period to period, depending on the activity, students will readily move their desks into the appropriate grouping pattern established for the activity, or even move desks into the hall to be able to work in groups on the floor. Complemented by a firm ethos that effort not ability, determines academic success, teachers employ multiability grouping patterns as well as multiple forms of groupings as a key component of the teaching-learning process. To be effective, these groups must vary in size, duration, and means of selection (by lot, by student preference, by seating patterns, but rarely by teacher design, so students cannot detect teacher preferences). In this way, students develop allegiance to a variety of other students regardless of sex, age, or other types of perceived ability on the part of any teacher.

Assigning duties to pairs or groups of students is a deliberate way to craft interdependence and peer assistance as the ongoing mode of operations. All monitor duties and leadership responsibilities rotate; some duties everyone must perform equally, while some are selected by lottery. Most leadership duties are shared both to ensure success and to share the burden of failure. Since all children must learn to take responsibility, not giving them a chance to practice is unreasonable. Dealing with failure and imperfection regardless of inconvenience to others is a critical part of the learning process. And learning how to give and receive help is a critical accompaniment.

The multiple grouping patterns create multiple forms of community consciousness and provide multiple means for students to get to know each other as individuals: They learn to work with everyone's strengths and weaknesses depending on the type of activity. Varied groupings also allow for multiple role models, thus multiplying the number of "teachers" and amount of feedback available to students. Teachers set high standards and expectations by bringing in high quality student work to show the class.

Supplementing the interdependent grouping patterns is a high level of physical intimacy and a sensitive attention to including others as part of a group. Students huddle in close groupings—heads, shoulders, bodies, arms, and legs touching—put their arms around each other, lie on each other, hold hands, or walk arm in arm. They lean on one another to give or ask for advice, sit together on the same seat, and often freely write and draw on each other's projects. The fresh innocence and sense of humor displayed by these fifth graders is heartwarming, and the

automatic, inclusive consideration seems contagious. Odd students who would be ostracized and loners in most U.S. settings are brought in by the magnetism of such group solidarity. Some of the most touching incidents I observed involved thoughtful inclusion of learning disabled students.<sup>12</sup> Rather than belittle or patronize them, other students respectfully and matter of factly brought them into their play groups, gave them roles to play, gently kept them in line, ignored irregular behaviors, and took care of them during field trips, ceremonies, and other public performances. Teachers and peers distributed the same materials and patiently helped them complete all activities.

Naturally, this intimacy breeds conflict at times, and the pressure towards inclusion makes exclusion that much more painful. Taken to its extreme, ostracism can be cruel. Japan is no different from other countries in this respect. Individuals that do not conform in specific ways or minority students (by many different definitions) may be picked on repeatedly. *Ijime* (bullying) is a problem that requires further careful research.<sup>13</sup> Although no instances of *ijime* were observed in this study, a few fights were observed, and physical jabs and verbal taunting

<sup>12</sup>Unless the student is a continual distraction in the classroom such that a teacher cannot even teach, parents have the choice of sending their children to special schools or incorporating them into the regular school program, where they generally receive no specialized instruction. Each classroom I observed had one special needs student, who could not compute or write much but could follow along behaviorally. One class had a severely handicapped girl, confined to a wheelchair, with poor muscular control and without speaking capacity. She, too, was incorporated into all activities: The girls in her cohort wheeled her around everywhere, even on the class treasure hunt in a park. And they put woodblock carving tools in her hand and helped her carve her own woodblock in art class.

<sup>13</sup>Based on my observations, severe forms of bullying and isolation seem rare, but the extent and degree to which these cases exist need to be researched with great care. According to Japanese informants, the practice is more common than my observations suggest. The kinds of students who may be ostracized are: returnees (those who have studied in foreign countries and therefore behave less like "Japanese"); ethnic or non-Japanese speaking minorities; minorities who are Japanese, but because of a particular Japanese concept of "cleanliness" and ritual purity have endured centuries of discrimination (the *burakumin*); or, more recently, atomic bomb victims. (see Befu, 1971).

Clearly, more precise definitions of and observations of the kinds and extent of isolation and bullying need to be documented to be able to gauge the nature of the problem. Reports of kind, gentle treatment, or rough, discriminatory treatment are very relative and contextually dependent. Many Japanese report having been bullied or isolated, which may be true, but what they report as bullying may be considered commonplace by American standards or may be trivial in an American setting where the major worry is students carrying weapons to school. For instance, a U.S. high school student was reporting about violence in schools and in response to an audience question about his own school, the boy replied, "No, there's no real violence in my school like this . . . oh, well four people were

were common, mainly between friends. Some students (especially the chubby, weak, or outspoken ones) get picked on more than others. But when students start to cry or get angry, others intercede almost immediately and divert their attention from whatever upset them.

Classroom behavior is marked by such fluid interaction patterns and blurred boundaries of self, peer tutoring is not only encouraged, it is unavoidable. "Classroom management" becomes inseparable from the teaching-learning processes, as students constantly keep one another in line socially and academically. In their own youthful fashion, they can be direct and physical, loud and cruel, or indirect and subtle, laughing and joking as they correct one another, giving reminders and assistance for everyone's benefit.

Besides the physical intimacy and caring innocence, the most surprising feature of Japanese schools is the incredible noise level and allowable behaviors as soon as the teacher or student says, "class is over." Students pop out of their seats yelling, laughing, kicking, hitting each other, wrestling on the floor, throwing things, racing and chasing each other, but angry disputes rarely erupt for more than a quick glare or an extra hard kick or punch in return. They are just having fun. A by-product of the fact that teachers rarely monitor such behavior is that students rarely go to teachers to solve such disputes. The few "tattle-tale" cases were met with complete indifference by the teacher. The students were left to settle the matter amongst themselves; dispute negotiation is an integral part of the process of learning to develop interdependent ties as a classroom community.

However, even during class time the amount of permissible murmur-  
ing, talking, and moving bodies while the teacher is talking without the teacher pausing or making any mention of it, is also surprising to an American observer. Yet it is not fully unregulated. A teacher's most powerful tool is silence. If they stop talking for awhile and just stand, students notice immediately. Students will admonish their neighbors, straighten their textbooks, help them find an answer, and warn them

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shot one day but other than that, that was the only thing . . ." and he shrugged his shoulders.

Another problem is that given the exact same experience, one Japanese student may feel he or she was bullied, while another student may not even notice it happened or easily brushes it aside. The same is true for American students. For example, growing up with three brothers, I did not pay attention to a few punches or disparaging remarks on the playground that my girlfriend, an only child, found "horrifying." This does not dismiss the emotional trauma that any degree of bullying or teasing may have on a particular individual; this is only to point out the difficulty in evaluating and analyzing reported data on this issue.

that the teacher is getting angry. If trouble persists, a teacher will comment that "some people" are not listening and may toss a stern look towards a student, and as a last resort, even mention names. But such warnings result in just a moment's hesitation, and the noise level rarely becomes silent for long.

Still, the noise level and movement do not translate into completely "inattentive behavior" either. In fact, another striking feature is the degree of attentive behavior during class times. Most murmurs are students' spontaneous reactions to the lesson or elaborating upon and questioning each other about what the teacher means. Although the talk is constant across 40 or more bodies, it is only instantaneous for most of them as individuals. For instance, when students do not hear the teacher's instructions, instead of the teacher taking time to admonish people for not listening, the teacher merely continues the presentation and eventually (through the guidance of their peers) all the students are following along. It only takes a minute, but it is a rumbling minute. One consequence of the higher level of permissible noise and movement and delegated disciplining responsibilities is that teachers spend little class time on discipline and procedural matters.

Information regarding time on task may be misleading because it does not necessarily reflect quiet and obedient students or a higher reverence for teachers. Rather, teachers have a higher tolerance for noise and random movement, which they ignore as they conduct class lessons. They sought a delicate balance between the noise of engagement and enjoyment ("Yatta!," "I did it!") and the noise of disruption and dismay.

Several rationale support this style. In order to allow peer supervision mechanisms to take hold, a certain degree of forgetfulness, distraction, and mistakes must be tolerated. After all, one cannot delegate authority, then keep taking it away at every infraction or for adult convenience. For some, noise is acceptable as long as it reflects engagement, enthusiasm, and reinforcement of positive classroom relations and hard work. Lastly, they are realistic; they expect elementary age student conversations and behaviors to weave in and out of appropriate and inappropriate forms, from serious and relevant speech into fun and irrelevant musings, and back again.

Another factor that frees teachers from procedural matters is a predominance of preestablished proper forms of behavior, activities, and procedures which all Japanese are expected to follow. The fact that they are consistent throughout society as well as enduring over time contains significant educational implications. A national school identity is maintained while regional differences may flourish. Integration between life in schools, businesses, and community provides stability. Likewise, the

consistency from one grade level to the next enables long-term perspectives on the growth of desired leadership, academic, and social skills. Changing schools or grade levels is less traumatic. Mutual assistance from peers, parents, and all community members is made possible. In addition, the common base of behaviors, procedures, and expectations frees staff and students from one level of planning and adjustment, so creative energies may be directed elsewhere.

Many of these forms are unthinkable to an American, but some advantages are apparent, especially with such large class sizes. For example, the surface uniformity allows procedural efficiency so that time spent on teaching content and on having fun in other ways is maximized. There are highly regulated ways to begin and end each class period, to serve and clean up lunch, to write notes in notebooks, to be dressed for gym, to line up, to sit down, to clean off desks ready for study, to put things away neatly in lockers, and to project one's voice. Naturally, teachers vary in the degree to which they adhere to these forms, but most Japanese know what these "ways" are supposed to be. Although some Japanese bemoan these burdens of regulation and resent pressures to conform, others regard the sense of form and order as an aesthetic value, and still others find the structure essential for the development of self-discipline.

This uniformity and regulation reflect outward appearance, not necessarily "homogeneity" produced within the students' hearts and minds. Although some forms and procedures create a "militaristic" impression to a casual observer, the students are hardly programmed robots. In class, teachers constantly encourage students to give their own opinions, ask for dissenting views, and vote on the possible answers. Individuality is quite evident in the spin-off discussions, actions, and products which I observed. I was impressed by the students' curiosity, initiative, and creative "experiments" during and after class. Paradoxically, from initially rote or standardized practices, creativity may spring. In other words, students may practice identical skills until they have mastered a common form and learning process, but once mastered, these identical basic skills actually free them to experiment in creative ways.

Many teachers firmly believe that school has to be a fun place for students to be able to learn, that noise is an inevitable complement to engagement, that motivation doesn't happen without a sense of belonging, a sense of humor, and a sense of caring. To sum my feelings in a few words, the life of a Japanese elementary school student is noisy, intimate, fun, varied, and structured. In an interesting twist, the standardization of curricula, school and classroom organization, and proper

forms of behavior which form the core of school life may actually provide the springboard for diversity. Creating enjoyable, noisy, and active learning environments enables teachers to engage a greater number of students, to increase motivation, to reduce class behavior problems, and to keep those that exist from becoming worse or from turning the classroom into a battleground. They earned respect and garnered control more through repeated patience than with repeated punishment.

On the other hand, the same facets which promote a wonderful community spirit and broad-based participation within classrooms in schools may cause another form of inequity for those who do not keep pace with the crowd or who do not fit in, or for those who need special consideration. Teachers often voiced the complaint that they cannot individualize instruction nor give enough time to those who fail to grasp concepts and skills quickly. Students more in charge of classroom management may abuse their powers and some students may be picked on more than others. Individual expression for some is constricted in order to include others, so individual expression is lost as well as gained. Providing special services to a few students may give them the very services they need, yet special treatment also may disrupt a sense of class unity and create discord in the unequal provision of activities that it represents. Unfortunately, educational choices are not simple and clear-cut, rather they usually involve trade-offs. Determining who benefits and who does not is essential to weigh equity issues.

The admirable within-school equity and egalitarian sentiments are offset by grave between-school inequities. One alarming trend is that the same system that was instituted to ensure equal opportunity has fallen prey to economic realities: Students from wealthier families are more successful because they can pay for extra tutoring and private cram schools (Fujita, 1978, 1989). A rigorous examination system for school entrance divides schools into "tracks" based on test scores even though within school tracking does not exist. Perhaps the ultimate contradiction in the Japanese system is that the process-oriented, whole person emphasis at the elementary level rests uncomfortably with the single test score used as the measure of "success" for college or elite pre-collegiate school admissions.

Most teachers voice discontent about the curricular and social pressures the examination system exerts on the true education they would like to foster. Students more concerned with tests are less involved with the broad-based elementary curriculum, and less involved with those not in competition to enter elite schools. In particular, the same heart-warming caring and group solidarity I observed in the lower class, non-college bound school was less noticeable in the upper class, college

bound school, presumably the future leaders of the country. Instead, the latter students were more self-centered and status conscious. Several students selectively sought help from and helped only peers who attended the same elite *juku*. The blue collar neighborhood maintains a more traditional community focus and students participate in children's organizations and community activities, whereas the upwardly mobile neighborhood students had never heard of a children's organization and did not participate in community activities. The Japanese must grapple with the challenges posed by these contradictions and tensions within their system.

Interestingly enough, the Japanese case provides additional support for many current U.S. practitioners' and researchers' findings and conceptual assertions. Their broad curriculum and reliance on a broad variety of assessment forms other than testing supports the ideas of multiple intelligences (Gardner, 1983) and of a more generous conception of cognition and the curriculum (Eisner, 1982, 1991). When asked about their teaching philosophy, many Japanese laugh and say, "We got it from you, it's John Dewey." Their natural tendency to link activities to the students' lives and wherever possible to observe or participate in the activities in context supports the ideas of situated learning or cognition in context (Cole, Gay, Glick, & Sharp, 1971; Cole & Scribner 1973; Lave, Murtaugh, & de la Rocha, 1984). And the attention paid to caring in classrooms corresponds nicely to ideas elaborated by Nel Noddings (1984).

Significantly, Frederick Erickson's concept of curriculum not only as subject matter content but also as social participation structures distills a critical factor in Japanese classrooms. As he asserts:

Change the physical form of the tools or symbols, or change the social forms of relations among the people with whom the individual is learning the practice . . . and one has profoundly changed the nature of the interaction—the nature of the learning task. (Erickson, 1984, p. 529)

More than subject matter content or hours spent studying math and reading, the social forms of relations in Japan stand out. McDermott (1977) also points out the significance of social relations as contexts for learning. The Japanese system may also be an interesting case to consider in the debate regarding tracking and untracking schools (DeLany, 1986; Wheelock, 1992).

Although not postulated as a separate set of learning theories or means of classroom organization, Japanese teachers' reliance on cooperative work groups (universal in Japanese school settings) mirrors the

kinds of small group work, norms, and processes professed by educational sociologists (Bossert, 1979; Cohen, 1984; Natriello & Dornbusch, 1984; Rosenholtz & Wilson 1980), cooperative learning proponents (Aaronson, Blaney, Stephen, Sikes, & Snapp, 1978; Sharan, 1980; Slavin, 1983), and in particular, Elizabeth Cohen's complex instruction (Cohen, 1986). Smooth working relations are easier to maintain in the Japanese setting because "cooperative learning" is the assumed mode of teaching. In contrast, U.S. teachers may have to put forth heroic efforts to attempt cooperative group work amidst a school or classroom environment which contradicts those values.

The Japanese teacher culture and school organization patterns reflect many of the tenets embraced by current reform efforts, such as Accelerated Schools, Coalition of Essential Schools, and The Comer Project. Conversely, the Japanese could learn much from American practitioners, particularly the variety of individualized instruction modes, alternative assessments, and successful strategies for dealing with cultural diversity. Many areas in the field of teacher education and professional development also warrant further attention: Much can be learned from both sides on both theoretical and practical issues.

### Conclusion

While this article has emphasized the positive aspects of the observed teaching-learning processes, these aspects do provide authentic snapshots of concrete realities, and as such may open our eyes to visions of the kinds of school and classroom communities that may exist. An ongoing dialogue between exemplary teachers from both countries could result in exciting new curriculum and instruction strategies and school organization practices. I would like to end with a few caveats for cross-cultural understanding.

*Be flexible.* Contexts are ever-changing, yet the words we use to describe them may become static. Terms and concepts that seem so clearly discernible and easily defined actually become fluid, intangible, and slippery concepts as we discover how the concrete realities of differing contexts make them look, feel, and act differently.

*Be open.* Increasing our cross-cultural knowledge and understanding uproots many precious or presumed "truths" that we unconsciously hold. It provokes new questions, new insights, and refreshing options.

*Beware.* For each benefit that may accrue with certain educational choices, trade-offs exist. Either-or options or dichotomous thinking may cloud our thinking and mislead our perceptions. In the Japanese case, seemingly opposing ideas and contradictory practices at face value actu-

ally form complementary processes to somehow complete a coherent educational whole. For example, much play and goofing off one moment allow for hard work and discipline the next; rowdy behavior and thunderous noise are seen as necessary antecedents to quiet concentration; and standardization and structure serve as a spring board for diversity. Rather than focus on the opposing nature of opposite forces, they optimize the value of their interaction.

The ultimate dichotomy may be the one we tend to pose as U.S.-Japan.<sup>14</sup> The real comparisons may be between admirable teachers and teaching-learning processes regardless of the country or culture. Most importantly, in the interaction between ideas conceived in U.S. and in Japan, a coherent educational whole may be discovered.

Cultural differences simply provide alternative value contexts within which to examine naturally occurring phenomenon. Because the United States and Japan offer some interesting contrasts, cross-cultural comparisons are potentially rich ways to deepen our understanding of education. Cautious attention to truly comparable elements and to subtle differences in meaning and context is critical for comprehensive and useful understanding. Lessons are a two-way street, and there is much we can learn from each other.

<sup>14</sup>I would like to thank Ray McDermott for this realization, though any misinterpretation is my responsibility.

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Appendix  
 SCHOOL CALENDARS

MONTH	Mori	Umi
APRIL	Open School Ceremony Entrance Ceremony Health Examinations School Picnic	Open School Ceremony Entrance Ceremony Safety/Emergency Drills Parent Observation Dental Examinations
MAY	Sports Day Health Examinations	School Picnic Health Examinations Achievement and IQ tests
JUNE	Home Visits Swimming Instruction Music Appreciation Day (6th grade) Theater Day (6th grade)	Home Visits Swimming Instruction "outdoor classroom" (3-day overnight—6th grade) Safety Instruction
JULY	Swimming Instruction Camping trip (5th grade) Close Trimester Ceremony	Swimming Instruction Camping trip (5th grade) Close Trimester Ceremony
AUGUST	Summer Vacation Swimming Instruction	Summer Vacation Swimming Instruction
SEPTEMBER	District Swim Meet (6th grade) Open Trimester Ceremony Safety/Emergency Drill "outdoor classroom" (3-day overnight—6th grade)	District Swim Meet (6th grade) Open Trimester Ceremony Safety/Emergency Drill Parent Observation Day Sports Day
OCTOBER	District Track Meet (6th grade) Sun. Parent Observ. Day	District Track Meet (6th grade) Science Field Trip Community Festival
NOVEMBER	Social Studies Field Trip Health Exams Music Festival	Health Consultation Art Exhibition
DECEMBER	Health Consultation Whole School Cleaning Close Trimester Ceremony	Music Appreciation (5th grade) Whole School Cleaning Close Trimester Ceremony

MONTH	<i>Mori</i>	<i>Umi</i>
JANUARY	Open Trimester Ceremony Calligraphy Exhibition (to open the New Year, all grade) Stilts Sports Day	Open Trimester Ceremony Calligraphy Exhibition (to open the New Year, all grade) Health Exams Parent Observation Day
FEBRUARY	Parent Meeting for New Parents (incoming 1st grade)	Parent Meeting for New Parents (incoming 1st grade) Social Studies Field Trip Clubs Presentation Day
MARCH	Giving Thanks Ceremony Good-bye Party Ball Games Day (5th-6th grade) Close Trimester Ceremony Graduation Ceremony	Graduation Picnic (6th grade) Giving Thanks Ceremony Good-bye Party Close Trimester Ceremony Graduation Ceremony

PEABODY JOURNAL OF EDUCATION  
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Table 1

Class Schedule—Mr. Ito, Mori Fifth Graders (April, 1987—March, 1988)

Period	Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	8:40-8:50	School Assembly	Teachers' Meeting	Teachers' Meeting	Teachers' Meeting	Pupil A.M. Assembly	
	8:50-8:55	A.M. Meeting	A.M. Meeting	A.M. Meeting	A.M. Meeting	A.M. Meeting	
1st period	8:55-9:40	Math	Japanese	Home Ec.	Math	Class Meeting	
	9:40-9:45						
2nd period	9:45-10:30	Science	Soc. Stud.	Music	Home Ec.	Music	Physical Education
	10:30-10:50	Recess	Recess	Recess	Recess	Recess	Recess
3rd period	10:50-11:35	Art	Physical Education	Science	Physical Education	Japanese	Math
	11:35-40						
4th period	11:40-12:25	Art	Math	Science	Math	Soc. Stud.	Japanese

	12:25-1:05	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	P.M. Meeting
	1:05-1:25	Recess	Cleaning	Recess	Recess	Go home
	1:25-1:45	Cleaning	P.M. Meeting	Cleaning	Cleaning	
5th period	1:45-2:30	Soc. Stud.	Moral Ed.	Go home	Japanese	Japanese
	2:30-2:40	P.M. Meeting	P.M. Meeting	P.M. Meeting	P.M. Meeting	P.M. Meeting
	2:40-2:45	Transition	Transition	Transition	Free	
6th period	2:45-3:30	Councils or Free	Clubs	School Time	Go home	
		Go home	Go home	Go home	Go home	

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Table 2  
*Class Schedule—Mr. Seki, Umi Fifth Graders (April, 1987—March, 1988)*

Period	Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Saturday Time
	8:10-8:30	Arrive at school	Arrive at school	Arrive at school	Arrive at school	Arrive at school	Arrive at school	8:10-8:30
	8:30-8:35	Teacher's Meeting	Teacher's Meeting	Teacher's Meeting	Teacher's Meeting	Teacher's Meeting	Teacher's Meeting	8:30-8:35
	8:35-8:45	Assembly	Whole	School	Exercises	Assembly		8:35-8:40
	8:45-8:55	Class Time		(5 min) Gather (10 min) Exercise		Class/Grade Time	Japanese	8:40-9:25
1st period	8:55-9:40	Japanese	Math	Japanese	Home Ec.	Art		9:25-9:30
	9:40-9:45							
2nd period	9:45-10:30	Japanese (library)	Japanese	Music	Home Ec.	Art	Physical Education	9:30-10:15
	10:30-10:45	Recess	Recess	Recess	Recess	Recess	Recess	10:15-10:30
							Music	10:30-11:15

3rd period	10:45-11:30	Math	Science	Physical Education	Science	Math		11:15-11:20
	11:30-11:35						Social Studies	11:20-12:05
4th period	11:35-12:20	Social Studies	Science	Math	Moral Ed.	Social Studies	P.M. Meeting	12:05-12:10
	12:20-1:00	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Go home	
	1:00-1:20	Recess	Recess	Recess	Recess	Recess	Recess	
5th period	1:20-2:05	Class Meeting	Physical Education	P.M. Meeting	Math	Japanese		
	2:05-2:15	P.M. Meeting	P.M. Meeting	Go home	P.M. Meeting	P.M. Meeting		
	2:15-2:30	Cleaning	Cleaning		Cleaning	Cleaning		
	2:30-2:35	Transition	Transition		Transition	Transition		
6th period	2:35-3:20	Clubs	Councils		Free Activity	Free Activity		
	3:20-3:45	Go home	Go home		Go home	Go home		













